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VOLS. XVIII-XIX
FOR 1937-1939

EDITED FOR THE TRUSTEES BY
MILLAR BURROWS AND E. A. SPEISER

EXPLORATIONS IN EASTERN
PALESTINE, III

NELSON GLUECK

PUBLISHED BY THE
AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH
NEW HAVEN
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EXPLORATIONS IN EASTERN PALESTINE, III.

NELSON GLUECK

To

WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT

and

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

my teachers and friends

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AA	Frank, <i>Aus der 'Araba</i> I, ZDPV 57, 1934, pp. 191-280.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> .
AJSLL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> .
ANNUAL	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> .
APB	Albright, <i>Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible</i> .
BJ	Josephus, <i>De Bello Judaico</i> .
Bulletin	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> .
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> .
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i> .
ILN	<i>Illustrated London News</i> .
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> .
JG V	Garstang, "Jericho: City and Necropolis" (Fifth Report), <i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Liverpool</i> .
JPOS	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i> .
Kh.	Khirbet.
M	Musil, <i>Arabia Petraea</i> I, Moab.
MA	Jaussen and Savignac, <i>Mission archéologique en Arabie</i> .
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft</i> .
ME	Musil, <i>Arabia Petraea</i> II, Edom.
NCEB	Engberg and Shipton, <i>Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo</i> .
OIC	<i>Oriental Institute Communications</i> .
PA	Brünnnow and Domaszewski, <i>Die Provincia Arabia</i> .
PEFA	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Annual</i> .
PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i> .
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i> .
PJB	<i>Palästinajahrbuch</i> .
PPEB	Wright, <i>The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age</i> .
QDAP	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine</i> .
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i> .
TBM I	Albright, <i>The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim</i> I (Annual XII).
I A	Albright, <i>The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim</i> I A (Annual XIII).
II	Albright, <i>The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim</i> II (Annual XVII).
TF II	Macdonald et al., <i>Beth-Pelet</i> II, (Tell Far'ah).
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> .
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins</i> .

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PREFACE

The American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, has for several years made the archaeological exploration of Eastern Palestine one of its special concerns. Previous results were published in the *Bulletin*, Nos. 49-51, 55, 63, and in volumes XIV and XV of the ANNUAL. During 1936-1938, whenever possible, the surface examination of archaeological sites in Transjordan was continued. The new results are presented in this volume of the ANNUAL. Preliminary reports were published in Nos. 64-9 of the *Bulletin*. The work is not yet finished. As in previous years, the American School expedition enjoyed the cooperation of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities. It is particularly indebted to Mr. Lankester Harding, Chief Curator of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities. He permitted a member of his staff to join each trip of the expedition. Rashîd Ḥamîd, Assistant Inspector of the Department who is stationed at Jerash, 'Alî Abû Ghôsh, Antiquities Guard at Mâdebâ, Freiḥ Riḥânî, Antiquities Guard at eṭ-Ṭafîleh, and Mohammed Zaid, Antiquities Guard at Kerak, who were attached to the expedition at various times, proved to be invaluable assistants. Whenever a car was used, Ilyas Tutunjian acted as chauffeur. Prof. Millar Burrows, President of the American Schools of Oriental Research, and Mr. J. H. Iliffe, Keeper of the Palestine Museum, participated in the trip of August 11-17, 1936; Mr. R. G. Head, of the Department of Forests and Mines of the Transjordan Government, in the trip of September 6-11, 1936; Squadron Leader T. Traill and 'Abdullah Riḥânî Bey, Officer Commanding the eṭ-Ṭafîleh sub-district, in the trip of November 17, 1937; Dr. F. V. Winnett in the trip of August 2-5, 1938. The help they rendered is gratefully noted. To Col. F. G. Peake, C. B. E., then Commander of the Arab Legion, Transjordan, 'Abdullah Riḥânî Bey, and Bahjet Bey, Officer Commanding the Kerak district, thanks are expressed for active assistance to the expedition and for information with regard to antiquity sites. Thanks to the courtesy of the Air Officer Commanding Royal Air Force, Palestine and Transjordan, then Air Commodore Roderic Hill, it was possible for the writer to supplement the archaeological explorations on land in southern Transjordan by an aerial survey.¹ It is a pleasure also to record here our gratitude to him for granting permission for the flight, to Squadron Leader W. L. Dawson, who made the necessary arrangements, and to Squadron Leader T. Traill of the 14th Bombing Squadron, 'Ammân,

¹ *Bulletin* 66, pp. 27-28; 67, pp. 19-26.

who flew the plane with the writer as passenger. The Air Officer Commanding also most kindly permitted the writer to be flown from 'Ammân to Kerak, en route to Sela', in a plane piloted by Squadron Leader Traill. Without the financial support and encouragement of the authorities of the American Schools of Oriental Research the continuation of the archaeological survey would not have been possible. To Dr. Julian Morgenstern, President of the Hebrew Union College, and to its Board of Governors, the writer is deeply indebted for their generosity in again granting him an extended leave-of-absence to serve the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem. Prof. Clarence S. Fisher and Père Hugues Vincent have most kindly helped in the determination of the dates of the pottery finds. Père Vincent has seen most of the sherds and Prof. Fisher all of the sherds discussed in this volume. Their opinions have been independently given, and have always been in full general accord with the datings previously recorded by the writer. To Dr. Immanuel Ben-Dor, Assistant Curator, Palestine Archaeological Museum, grateful acknowledgement is made for help in locating sherds in the Museum. To the Editors of the *ANNUAL*, Prof. W. F. Albright and to Dr. Robert M. Engberg, the writer is grateful for their care and labor in seeing through the press this third part of the ASOR archaeological survey report published in the *ANNUAL*.

It has been correctly pointed out² that the archaeological exploration of southern Transjordan as carried out by the expeditions of the American Schools of Oriental Research, and reported on in volumes XIV and XV of the *ANNUAL*, did not examine all the regions there with equal thoroughness. A glance at the maps published in these volumes bears out the validity of this criticism. The reasons for the comparative incompleteness of this survey in the territories of ancient Moab and Edom may generally be attributed to difficulties of terrain, and more particularly to the limitations imposed by time, funds, the political disturbances, and the physical powers of the members of the expeditions. Although more than four hundred datable ancient sites in Moab and Edom had been previously examined, it was felt desirable, when the work of the archaeological survey was renewed in August 1936, to visit as many sites as possible in those areas which had hitherto either escaped attention or simply could not be visited at the time. In this way also, the demands of scientific thoroughness could more nearly be fulfilled than had been previously possible, and the conclusions already published could be checked from new data. Despite the temptation therefore to begin immediately with the archaeological exploration of central and northern Transjordan, attention was given once again to the southern half. The sites will

² Alt, ZDPV 59, p. 163.

not be described according to the time sequence of the expeditions' visits to them, but according to their geographical location extending from 'Aqabah northward. The discoveries, therefore, in 'Ammôn and Gilead will be treated last in this volume. It may be emphasized that despite the large number of sites visited from August 1936 on in Edom and Moab in the attempt to complete the survey of these areas, the possibilities of discovery of still additional ancient sites there have definitely not been exhausted. Some sites will inevitably have been missed; others are so deeply buried under the debris of modern settlements as to defy all surface examination. Likewise it has not yet been possible to make an exhaustive archaeological survey of 'Ammôn and Gilead. The enclosed maps reveal the gaps in the survey of these areas which have yet to be filled in. On the whole, however, the writer is confident that not very many ancient sites in Edom and Moab, whose ruins have not been completely obliterated, remain undiscovered. For all practical purposes, therefore, the American School's archaeological survey of Edom and Moab is concluded with this report. Thus far, over three hundred ancient sites have been visited in 'Ammôn and South Gilead by the American School's expeditions,—a number of sites large enough to ensure authoritative results, corroborated, it is a pleasure to say, by de Vaux's and Benoit's independent survey, particularly of the es-Salt region.³ It has not yet been found possible, for various reasons, to undertake an archaeological survey of the e. side of the Jordan Valley, which has, however, already been examined in part particularly by Abel⁴ and Albright,⁵ among others.⁶

The designations EB III, or EB IV, dating respectively from circa 27th to 24th centuries and 23rd to 22nd centuries B. C., referring to periods in the Early Bronze Age, and MB I to the first period in the Middle Bronze Age, dating approximately about the 21st and 20th centuries B. C., follow those listed by Albright and Wright.⁷ For EI I-II, referring to periods in the Early Iron Age, see Albright, *ANNUAL* XII, p. xxi. Early Iron Age I extends from about 1230 to 920 B. C., and Early Iron Age II from about 920 to 600 B. C. The dates when the various sites were visited are given in

³ de Vaux, *RB* 47 (1938), pp. 398-425.

⁴ Abel, *RB* 19 (1910), pp. 532-556; 20 (1911), pp. 408-436; 40 (1931), pp. 214-226; 375-400; 41 (1932), pp. 77-88; 237-257.

⁵ Albright, *ANNUAL* VI, pp. 33, 40-49; *Bulletin* 35, pp. 10-14; *JPOS* V, p. 33, n. 37.

⁶ Hölscher, *MDOG* 23, p. 33; *ZDPV* 33, pp. 18-25; Mallon, *Biblica* 10 (1929), pp. 214-232; 13 (1932), pp. 194-201; 14 (1933), pp. 400-407; Neuville, *Biblica* 11 (1930), pp. 249-265; Garrow Duncan, *PEFQS* 1928, pp. 36, 99-100, 165; Steuernagel, *Der 'Adschlun*; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 381-393.

⁷ *TBM* II, pp. 13-14; *PPEB*, pp. 73-81; *Bulletin* 71, pp. 27-34.

the footnotes; where not given, they are the same as the last mentioned date.

The map of Bronze Age sites appended to this volume gives the location not only of the Bronze Age sites discussed in it, but also of the Bronze Age sites treated in *Explorations in Eastern Palestine* I-II. The Iron Age map also includes all the EI I-II sites visited during the course of the ASOR survey. The numbers in parentheses in the text refer to the numbers marking sites on the map of sites visited during 1936-38.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, JERUSALEM.

January 1, 1939.

EDOM AND MOAB

The ASOR expedition returned to 'Aqabah⁸ (1) primarily to reexamine the site of Aila and to visit and collect sherds from Tell el-Kheleifeh. The reexamination of Aila (2) brought to light some fragments of marble screening which probably belong to the remains of a Byzantine church now buried under modern gardens along the seashore. The constant digging undertaken there for new wells and for house foundations is bringing forth much fragmentary evidence of the existence of a large Byzantine settlement. Its presence had been previously attested by numerous Byzantine sherds, which had been collected together with the earlier Nabataean and Roman and the later mediaeval Arabic sherds found strewn over the entire area of the site.⁹ No sherds earlier than the Nabataean could be found. Frank, Sellin, and Alt report the same results from their examination of Aila.¹⁰ In the courtyard of the police post at 'Aqabah are two Byzantine capitals, which are alleged to have been found in some ditches dug at Aila (Fig. 1a. 1b. 2a. 2b). Each of these capitals, which probably come from a church in Byzantine Aila,¹¹ has two different bas-reliefs, one each on adjacent sides. The one represents an archangel holding a globe with a cross on it in the left hand, and a staff in the right hand, and standing between two phoenixes. The other represents a warrior-saint, around whose head a halo is visible.^{11a} The figure in each instance is about 31 cm. high. In answer to a letter from the writer regarding these capitals, Prof. Harold R. Willoughby of the University of Chicago replied as follows:

"You are undoubtedly right that photograph 2a reproduces a bas-relief of St. Theodore; there can be no reasonable doubt concerning that inscription. Photograph 1a is much more difficult to interpret, but my guess is that the warrior-saint in question is Longinus, and that the inscription is the Greek version of his name with the terminal letters missing. It would work out this way: (Λ)ΟΓΓΙΝΟ(Σ). The Rabula Gospels are evidence of the conspicuous role that this saint played in East Christian Art at this early period. Also, Cassiodorus emphasizes that the holy lance which was the relic chiefly associated with St. Longinus, was one of the great religious treasures in Jerusalem itself at this period. Another datum I noticed which may have some bearing

⁸ Aug. 12, 1936.

⁹ ANNUAL XV, p. 47; *Bulletin* 65, p. 12.

¹⁰ ZDPV 59, pp. 124-125.

¹¹ Harnack, *Die Mission u. Ausbreitung d. Christentums* ed. 3, vol. II, pp. 106. 114. 118.

^{11a} Cf. the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. VII-VIII, p. 773, article "Lance."

on the matter is that Adolph Harnack, at the very place in *Mission u. Ausbreitung d. Christentums* (ed. 3, vol. II, pp. 113-114) where he makes mention of the sea port of Aila, also notes the circumstance that Bishop Longinus



Fig. 1. Byzantine capital from Aila.



Fig. 2. Byzantine capital from Aila.

of Ascalon attended the Council of Nicea. This, at least, indicates the currency of this particular name in high ecclesiastical circles as early as the beginning of the fourth century. Admittedly, I am not certain that Longinus is the solution, but it is the best suggestion that I have been able to achieve to date. The military character of the saints and the archangels calls attention

to the need for military protection that was keenly felt on this raw frontier of the Byzantine empire."

Systematic excavation at Aila may possibly reveal the presence of an Early Iron Age site beneath the debris of subsequent settlements which extended from the Nabataean period to the medieval Arabic,¹² but it is not likely. Even if one were to grant the contention that Elath may have existed on the site of Aila,¹³ the fairly deep foundations of the houses and walls of the Nabataean and Byzantine settlements, both of which were very large, would have effectively effaced all the remains of the mud-brick ruins of the Early Iron Age site. Building foundations cannot be sunk very deeply in the Aila area before striking the water level, which is comparatively near to the surface at the s. end of the 'Arabah facing the Gulf of 'Aqabah. In the few gardens cultivated on the site of Aila, one can see shallow wells only a few metres deep dug for irrigation purposes.

Two visits ¹⁴ to Tell el-Kheleifeh (3), on the second of which some soundings were made, were very instructive. Tell el-Kheleifeh, which is about 3.5 km. w.-n. w. of 'Aqabah, and about 1.5 km. n. w. of Aila, was discovered by Frank. He found a number of sherds there which "appeared to be very old" to him. He had nevertheless correctly assumed that Tell el-Kheleifeh must be identified with the Solomonic port city of Ezion-geber.¹⁵ The discovery by the ASOR expedition of the nearby copper-smelting sites below Mrashrash (Mrashshash) strengthened this assumption.¹⁶ From Frank's photograph of the sherds found by him at Tell el-Kheleifeh, the writer was able definitely to assign them to the Early Iron Age,¹⁷ and thus to make more probable the identification of this site with Ezion-geber. When we first visited Tell el-Kheleifeh, we found large numbers of EI I-II sherds of all types, and none which could be dated earlier.¹⁸ There were otherwise only a few black glazed Greek sherds of about the 5th century B. C.,¹⁹ and a few Nabataean sherds of the fine, egg-shell thin, plain and painted type.²⁰ In other words, after the Early Iron Age occupation of Tell el-Kheleifeh ceased, no later than the beginning of the

¹² ANNUAL XV, p. 47; *Bulletin* 65, p. 12; ZDPV 59, pp. 127-8; Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II, pp. 311-312.

¹³ ZDPV 59, p. 128.

¹⁴ Aug. 12, 1936 and Nov. 10-11, 1936.

¹⁵ ZDPV 57, pp. 243-4; ANNUAL XV, p. 48; *Bulletin* 65, p. 12.

¹⁶ ANNUAL XV, pp. 47-8; *Bulletin* 65, p. 12.

¹⁷ ANNUAL XV, p. 48; *Bulletin* 65, p. 12; ZDPV 57, pp. 243-4, and figs. 41B, 42A; 59, p. 127, and Pl. 6.

¹⁸ ZDPV 59, p. 127.

¹⁹ *Bulletin* 71, p. 5.

²⁰ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 74-6; XV, pp. 13-16.

6th century B.C.,²¹ the site remained unoccupied from then on, for all practical purposes, down to this very day. The large, thriving Nabataean city which developed subsequently, and dominated the commercially and strategically important north shore of the Gulf of 'Aqabah, was located on the site of Aila. It is situated about half way between Tell el-Kheleifeh and modern 'Aqabah. In addition to the sherds, the surface examination of Tell el-Kheleifeh revealed the presence of a number of worked pieces of copper²² and quantities of copper slag. Evidently smelting operations had been carried on at Tell el-Kheleifeh as well as at the two nearby copper-smelting sites below Mrashrash.²³ On the occasion of our second visit to the sand-covered Tell el-Kheleifeh on November 8-9, 1936, we made a number of soundings in order to find out where the sand left off and the *tell* proper began.²⁴ It can hardly be called a *tell*, for it is little more than a small mound, which at its highest point is only about 4 m. above the surface of the ground. It is oriented approximately n.-s., and its top surface where sherds were found measures about 46 by 33 m. Indeed, except when one is but a few metres from the mound, it is difficult to distinguish Tell el-Kheleifeh from the numerous small sand dunes which surround it. When on Nov. 5, 1936, the writer was able to examine the entire length of the n. shore of the Gulf of 'Aqabah from the vantage point of an airplane flown by Squadron Leader Traill,²⁵ it was possible only with considerable difficulty to pick out Tell el-Kheleifeh from its surroundings (Fig. 3). Traces of mud-brick houses and walls were found on the n. slope of the mound in trenches which had been dug presumably by the same Arabs, who were digging other trenches and sinking shallow wells in the immediate vicinity.²⁶ We collected some of the bricks which were lying about in order to construct a stand for the plane-table. The bricks on the surface were large, strongly made, and measured on the average 40 by 20 by 10 cm. They gave promise of comparatively well-preserved structures concealed in the mound proper, but a few centimetres below the surface. The excavations subsequently conducted by the American School between March and June 1938 revealed that these bricks belonged to the earliest period of a great smelting plant.²⁷ Immediately south of the *tell* some gardens were being laid out, watered from several wells dug only two to three metres deep before tapping sweet water. Around Tell el-Kheleifeh in the

²¹ ANNUAL XV, p. 52.

²² *Bulletin* 65, p. 13; ZDPV 59, p. 127, and Pl. 5B.

²³ ANNUAL XV, pp. 47-8.

²⁴ *Bulletin* 65, p. 13.

²⁵ Cf. *Bulletin* 66, pp. 27-8; 67, pp. 19-26.

²⁶ Cf. Frank, AA, p. 244.

²⁷ *Bulletin* 71, p. 7.

Early Iron Age, there extended in all probability a considerable garden area reaching practically all the way to the seashore. The garden walls being erected south of the *tell* are composed of mud-bricks, and cannot be much different from the walls that the gardeners in the Early Iron Age constructed.

Tell el-Kheleifeh is now situated about 550 m. from the seashore. It is, however, unnecessary to evolve the theory that Sellin does ²⁸ in order to explain this fact that Tell el-Kheleifeh is not directly on the seashore,—assuming the



Fig. 3. Tell el-Kheleifeh, lk. n. n. w.

correctness of its identification with the port-city of Ezion-geber. Sellin would have the Sabkhet Defîyeh,²⁹ which is situated to the n.-n. w. of Tell el-Kheleifeh, and which in winter time becomes a sea of mud, considered to be the former bed of a tongue of the Gulf of 'Aqabah. The waters of the sea would then have extended farther northward in the Early Iron Age than they do today, and would have lapped the very edges of the port of Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-geber). This inland harbor became sanded up gradually, according to Sellin, so that Ezion-geber had to be abandoned, and was replaced farther to the east by Elath. There are a number of reasons why this theory cannot hold water, so to speak. From Mrashrash to 'Ain Defîyeh in the middle of the Sabkhet Defîyeh is almost 16 km. The *sabkhah* extends down to Mrashrash

²⁸ ZDPV 59, p. 126; cf. Frank, AA, p. 243.

²⁹ ANNUAL XV, pp. 45-6.

on the western side of the 'Arabah, and even several kilometres west of it, but as a matter of fact it does not reach down to within 5 km., roughly speaking, of the area immediately north of Tell el-Kheleifeh. The Sabkhet Defîyeh, the Sabkhet Ghadyân, and other similar areas in the 'Arabah do not represent beds of a tongue of the Gulf of 'Aqabah which is supposed to have extended northward beyond its present confines in a time as recent, comparatively speaking, as the Early Iron Age. These *sabkhah* areas are caused by large quantities of sweet or brackish water coming to or near the surface and creating even in summer time near-swampy conditions. There is an obvious reason why Ezion-geber was not situated directly on the seashore, but was built several hundred metres farther inland. Strong gales blow up frequently in the Gulf of 'Aqabah, which occasionally sweep great waves inland over the almost flat land which rises only very gently away from the sea-shore. These gales are so strong, that the British naval vessels anchored during the last war in the Gulf of 'Aqabah below 'Aqabah, would hoist anchor when a gale began to blow, and steam southward straight into the wind to keep from being driven onto the shore, or smashed against the rocks on the eastern and western sides of the north end of the gulf. It was probably such a gale that piled Jehoshaphat's fleet on the rocks near Ezion-geber,³⁰ and a similar fate may previously have befallen Solomon's fleet.³¹ If Jehoshaphat had had the inland anchorage for his ships that Sellin posits, they might have escaped the fate which overtook them. It is also possible that the ancient shore-line may have been somewhat nearer to Tell el-Kheleifeh than it is now, and has been extended to the south for some distance because of the constant blowing of sand from the 'Arabah towards the sea. It is interesting to note that the sand dunes around Tell el-Kheleifeh point, generally speaking, seawards (Fig. 4).

The excavations carried out at Tell el-Kheleifeh have strengthened and amplified the conclusion that it was to be identified with Ezion-geber.³² It was seen then that the peculiarly inclement site of Tell el-Kheleifeh directly in the path of the wind and sand blown almost continuously southward through the 'Arabah like a draft through a wind-funnel was chosen with the view of utilizing these strong and continuous air currents to provide drafts for the furnaces of the great smelter discovered at the n. w. corner of Tell el-Kheleifeh.³³ It was determined furthermore that Tell el-Kheleifeh marks the beginning of the sweet water wells going from west to east, and that its ceramic history extends from about the 10th to the first half of the 5th century B. C., and that it is the only EI site on the coast. Archaeological and historical

³⁰ I Kings 22, 49; ANNUAL XV, p. 51.

³¹ ANNUAL XV, p. 51.

³² Bulletin 65, pp. 12-14.

³³ Bulletin 71, pp. 7-8.

considerations, which have been gone into elsewhere,³⁴ seem to point conclusively to the fact that not only is Tell el-Kheleifeh to be identified with Ezion-



Fig. 4. Excavated section of Tell el-Kheleifeh as it appeared in 1938;
Gulf of Aqabah in background.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

geber, but also with Elath, which succeeded Ezion-geber. Tell el-Kheleifeh is thus to be identified with Ezion-geber: Elath.

From Tell el-Kheleifeh we drove to Rujm Ḥadīd³⁵ on the e. side of the

³⁴ *Bulletin* 72, pp. 2-13.

³⁵ *Bulletin* 65, pp. 13-14.

small Wādī Raḥmā in the Wādī el-‘Arabah, via Mrashrash (4) and ‘Ain Defīyeh.³⁶ ‘Ain Defīyeh had been slightly deepened, and a small channel provided as an outlet for its waters since our visit to it in 1934 (Fig. 5). From Mrashrash to ‘Ain Defīyeh (8) is about 14 km., and from ‘Ain Defīyeh to Rujm Ḥadīd almost due north of it is about 4 km. Rujm Ḥadīd (9) is a very small, completely ruined Roman post, whose importance is in inverse ratio to the significance suggested by its name, *Iron Ruin*. We had hoped to



Fig. 5. ‘Ain Defīyeh, lk. w. n. w.

find an iron-mining or smelting site here, just as at Kh. en-Naḥās³⁷ we had in 1934 found a large copper-mining and smelting site, bearing out the significance of its name, *Copper Ruin*. Rujm Ḥadīd (Fig. 6) is not far from Mene‘īyeh,³⁸ the approach to which is visible to the northwest, in the foothills bordering the west side of the ‘Arabah. A small quantity of Roman sherds was found at Rujm Ḥadīd. Despite our disappointment at not finding a mining or smelting site there, it was nevertheless an interesting place to visit because it is situated on the watershed in the ‘Arabah. North of it the *wudyān* course toward the Dead Sea, and south of it to the Gulf of ‘Aqabah.³⁹ We missed the “*tell chara ḥadīd*,” which Frank locates east of the “*wādī er-radāde*” and due west of the Wādī el-Yitm. At this *tell*, whose name then

³⁶ ANNUAL XV, p. 46.

³⁷ ANNUAL XV, pp. 26-8.

³⁸ ANNUAL XV, pp. 42-5.

³⁹ Cf. Frank, AA, p. 243.

has some real meaning,⁴⁰ he found large pieces of slag, and a layer of ashes, and pottery which he describes as being similar to that of Mene'iyeh.⁴¹ As we have already stated in volume XV of the *ANNUAL*, these sherds must then be assigned to the Early Iron Age.⁴²

Flying over the 'Arabah on Nov. 5, 1936 with Squadron Leader Traill, we observed the completely sanded-over outlines of what is probably a Nabataean-Roman caravan-station⁴³ (10), situated about half-way between Ghadyân,⁴⁴



Fig. 6. Rujm Ḥadīd, lk. n. n. w.

and 'Ain Defīyeh. From Mrashrash we drove by car to Bîr Ṭābah (5), where there is a small police-post just inside of the Sinai border. It is 8 km. distance s. w. from Mrashrash following a track which skirts the coast. From there we drove⁴⁵ about 5 km. up the Wādī Ṭābah to 'Ain Ṭābah (6), marked by a small clump of palm trees (Fig. 7). From its broad outlet near the shore, the Wādī Ṭābah narrows rapidly towards the point of the location of 'Ain Ṭābah, the hills rising more and more precipitously on either side. The name '*Ain Ṭābah*' is somewhat of a misnomer, because there is actually no free flowing

⁴⁰ The analysis of the ore specimens which we collected at the mining and smelting sites in the 'Arabah in 1934 shows that they contain considerable amounts of both iron and copper; cf. *Bulletin* 63, p. 7.

⁴¹ Frank, AA, pp. 242-3.

⁴² *ANNUAL* XV, p. 46, n. 103.

⁴³ *Bulletin* 65, p. 13; 67, p. 22.

⁴⁴ *ANNUAL* XV, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁵ Aug. 13, 1936.

water. By digging in the *wâdî*-bed, water can be found from a quarter to half a metre beneath the surface,⁴⁶ as for instance in the Wâdî eth-Themed in Moab.⁴⁷ No traces of an ancient settlement were found in the vicinity of the spring. On the top of the ridge towering above 'Ain Ṭâbah to the south, we found several rude stone circles, measuring about 3.90 m. in diameter on the



Fig. 7. 'Ain Ṭâbah (Courtesy J. H. Iliffe).

average, which could not be dated because of a complete lack of sherds in the vicinity. The stone-circles seem, however, to be of ancient construction. Near them are several small stone furnaces, still intact, which seem to be of comparatively recent origin. The time at our disposal did not permit us to examine the neighboring *wudyân*, in which Frank found copper workings and slag heaps. At a small workers' settlement near one of these copper workings, in a small *wâdî* leading from the south down into the Wâdî el-Merâh, Frank also found some sherds, which unfortunately he describes merely as "*viele und zum Teil feinere Keramik*."⁴⁸ Returning to Bîr Ṭâbah, we took a *falûkah*, which we had previously arranged for to come from 'Aqabah to meet us at Bîr Ṭâbah,

⁴⁶ Frank, AA, p. 247.

⁴⁷ ANNUAL XIV, p. 13.

⁴⁸ Frank, AA, pp. 247-8.

and sailed over to Jezîret Far'ûn (?), the Isle of Pharaoh, in about forty minutes. The entire island was once strongly fortified and walled, and the ruins of the buildings frowning from the heights of the small hills at either end of the island still make an impressive appearance (Fig. 8). The island is oriented approximately n. n. e.-s. s. w., and measures about 275 by 60 m. The buildings are dry-built of rude blocks of granite, only the corner stones and the doorways being constructed of more carefully hewn stones. Smaller



Fig. 8. Ruins at n. n. e. end of Jezîret Far'ûn.

stones were placed between the larger ones to ensure comparative straightness of the rows. A number of cisterns furnished the residents of the island with water, a particularly large one being located on the n. e. side of the building-complex. The main group of buildings is on the n. n. e. side, with a smaller group on the s. s. w. side. Despite a careful search, the earliest sherds found were Byzantine, while the predominating sherds were mediaeval Arabic. We found nothing that could definitely be said to be Crusader, and the writer is inclined to share Savignac's belief that the present ruins represent buildings erected by the Saracens.⁴⁹ We shall not go into more detail with regard to Jezîret Far'ûn, because it has already been comparatively fully dealt with elsewhere.⁵⁰ It is interesting to note that while it took us only forty minutes from Bîr Tâbah to Jezîret Far'ûn, the wind had risen so strongly by the time we

⁴⁹ Savignac, RB 1913, p. 593; 1936, pp. 257-8.

⁵⁰ Savignac, RB 1913, pp. 588-596.

left Jezîret Far'ûn at 9.15 a. m., that we could not make our way back to Bîr Ṭābah. It was necessary for our boat-man to land us on the shore immediately opposite Jezîret Far'ûn, and we walked back to Bîr Ṭābah. We saw him tacking past Bîr Ṭābah five hours later.

We have seen that the n. shore of the Gulf of 'Aqabah was occupied from the Early Iron Age on by sites of importance. As yet, no EB site corresponding to the EB sites of Eastern Palestine has been found south of Feinân.⁵¹ Somewhere in Petra, or immediately by it, an EB site must exist, and remains to be discovered. It may be that the modern village of Eljî has been built over some such site, in which case, of course, traces of it will be extremely difficult to find. It was only after repeated visits to Petra that we discovered the large EI site of Ṭawilân.⁵² To be sure, this EI site was so levelled to the ground by being repeatedly ploughed over that it was most difficult to find, and its existence was revealed practically only by large quantities of sherds. If an EB site existed near it, or elsewhere in the garden-area of Eljî, it will be a miracle if it has escaped complete obliteration. Similarly, somewhere near 'Aqabah, it ought to be possible to discover an EB site, because the characteristics of the location practically demand the presence of such a site there during the last part of the Early Bronze period, when we find so comparatively intensive an occupation of all of Eastern Palestine. From Ezion-geber, or Aila, there branched off important highways, one of them, for instance, leading northward through the 'Arabah, and another northeastward through the Wādî Yitm and then northward through the length of Eastern Palestine. The latter route marked the line of the main s.-n. highway through Eastern Palestine in every recorded historical age.⁵³ It was the main highway connecting the part of the Nabataean kingdom located in the s. half of Eastern Palestine with Nabataean Arabia. In addition to the highway leading northeastward from Nabataean Aila to the n. extension of the main s.-n. route in the Nabataean period, another much used track led to it from the southeast through the Wādî Ramm, where a small Nabataean temple situated between the Wādî Shellâleh and the Wādî Themîleh at the foot of the Jebel Ramm is located.⁵⁴ Another track led west from Bâyr Wells, where a strong Nabataean post once existed,⁵⁵ to the main s.-n. highway. It was this main highway, which, when success finally

⁵¹ ANNUAL XV, pp. 32-6.

⁵² ANNUAL XV, pp. 82-3.

⁵³ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 3-4, 82; XV, pp. 3, 138; *Bulletin* 65, p. 12; 72, p. 5.

⁵⁴ RB 1932, pp. 591-4; 1933, pp. 405-22; 1934, pp. 572-89; 1935, pp. 245-78; ANNUAL XV, p. 54; *Bulletin* 69, pp. 17-18.

⁵⁵ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 72-5; XV, p. 109.

crowned the Roman arms, marked the route of Trajan's road, leading from Aila to Damascus.⁵⁶

At exactly the point where the bifurcation of the s. end of the main highway through Eastern Palestine begins, that is, at the point where the Wādī Yitm and the Wādī Ramm converge, about 14 km. n. e.-e. n. e. of 'Aqabah, is situated an important Nabataean-Roman fortress, called Qaṣr el-Kitharā (11). It is the most important Nabataean-Roman post on the main highway between the Nabataean-Roman site of el-Kuweirah⁵⁷ and Nabataean-Roman Aila. It also commands the important road leading to the Nabataean temple at Ramm, and into interior Arabia. Qaṣr el-Kitharā⁵⁸ (Praesidium?) is a fairly large, much ruined fortress, built of rude granite blocks in the form of a trapezium, whose outer walls, which are about 1.50 m. thick, follow the lines of the irregularly shaped, completely isolated knoll on which it was built. Its two long sides, measuring approximately 49 and 48 m. respectively, meet in the n. w. corner, which is strengthened by a square tower, as is also the s. w. corner. Similar towers probably once existed at the other two corners. The foundation walls of rooms built against the inner sides of the main walls are visible, leaving a large inner compound marked in its s. half by the ruins of a large Arabic(?) building. No rooms seem to have been built against the e. half of the inner side of the n. wall, the space having been left apparently for the gateway now completely demolished.⁵⁹ We found large numbers of Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. To the north of the fortress-caravanserai is 'Ain el-Kharaq. It is probable that the debris inside the *qaṣr* covers at least one cistern, in which an immediately available water-supply was stored. Savignac, who also found fine Nabataean sherds at Qaṣr el-Kitharā, in addition to Roman and Byzantine, came to the conclusion, which we have already advanced also for the Nabataean-Roman posts in the 'Arabah,⁶⁰ that "ces indices archéologiques suggèrent que les Nabatéens ont été les fondateurs de ce qaṣr, occupé plus tard par les Romains et Byzantins."⁶¹ Alt who has visited the site also reports that the pottery found there is "Nabataean - early Roman and Byzantine."⁶² While the *qaṣr* may generally be said to be Roman in type, there is every reason to believe that it was originally Nabataean, or that it was built on an originally Nabataean site. Our knowledge of Nabataean

⁵⁶ ANNUAL XV, p. 71, n. 190; RB 12, p. 106.

⁵⁷ ANNUAL XV, pp. 57-8; Alt, ZDPV 59 (1936), pp. 96-99.

⁵⁸ Aug. 12, 1936; *Bulletin* 65, pp. 8-9; ANNUAL XV, p. 54; RB 1932, pp. 594-5; ZDPV 58 (1935), pp. 24, 28; 59 (1936), pp. 104-5, with plan on p. 104, fig. 3; Musil, *The Northern Hejaz*, p. 80.

⁵⁹ Cf. Alt, ZDPV 59 (1936), p. 105.

⁶¹ RB 41, p. 395.

⁶⁰ ANNUAL XV, pp. 141-2.

⁶² ZDPV 59, p. 105.

architecture has not yet progressed to the point where we can distinguish absolutely between Nabataean and early Roman structures in southern Transjordan; it may never be possible. The pottery evidence, however, aside from other considerations, points unmistakably to an original Nabataean occupation of the site. Alt properly feels that the *qaṣr* corresponds to the usual Roman type, with local variations. Even disregarding the possibility that the Nabataeans might have constructed the present structure, his inference seems to be also that there was no original Nabataean occupation of the site.⁶³ The presence of Nabataean pottery at Qaṣr el-Kitharā might conceivably be explained by assuming that the *qaṣr* was built by the Romans, who used Nabataean workmen and potters and their wares. After all, the Nabataeans did not immediately disappear from off the face of the earth because of Trajan's victory in 106 A. D. The purely Nabataean temple of Ramm is dated by its excavators to the first half of the second century A. D., and we date the third period of Kh. Tannûr to approximately the same time.⁶⁴ It is, however, almost inconceivable that there should not have been an original Nabataean fortress at the exceedingly strategic point of the confluence of the Wādī Ramm and Wādī Yitm, both of which were such important arteries for the great Nabataean traffic, which flowed into the heart of the Nabataean kingdom in southern Transjordan with its hundreds of settlements, numerous trade-centers, and the great emporium of Petra. That a B. C. dating must be given to Nabataean pottery in an already highly developed form is indicated by the Nabataean pottery found in relation with the ruins of the temple of the second period at Kh. Tannûr, to which in all probability a 7 B. C. inscription discovered there belonged.⁶⁵ Let it be said here, in answer to Alt's question addressed to the writer⁶⁶ with regard to the proof for the prior existence of Nabataean structures at points where Alt claims priority for Roman, that the economic and military necessities of the Nabataean kingdom would alone have compelled the existence of Nabataean sites at these points, and particularly, for instance, at such key positions as Qaṣr el-Kitharā and Bîr Madhkûr.⁶⁷ In his enthusiasm for the furtherance of our knowledge of the Roman occupation of Western and Eastern Palestine, to the understanding of which he has contributed so greatly, is not Alt underestimating the importance of the Nabataean occupation? The same compulsion which Alt⁶⁸ recognizes for the location of a Roman site at el-Kitharā made the location of a Nabataean one there even more necessary.

⁶³ ZDPV 59, p. 105.

⁶⁴ RB 44, p. 278; *Bulletin* 69, p. 17.

⁶⁵ *Bulletin* 69, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁶ ZDPV 59, p. 166; cf. *Bulletin* 65, p. 9.

⁶⁷ ANNUAL XV, pp. 35-7.

⁶⁸ ZDPV 59, p. 105; *Bulletin* 65, pp. 9-10.

It is true that the presence of Nabataean pottery does not necessarily prove the priority of a Nabataean occupation over that of a Roman occupation in any particular site. It is, as a matter of fact, conceivable that the Romans could have constructed a fortress in the 2nd century A.D., which was built by Nabataean workmen, occupied by garrisons consisting either wholly or in part of Nabataeans, who used pottery made in the traditional Nabataean style by Nabataean potters. As yet, the fine distinctions have not been worked out enabling the student to distinguish beyond all question between Nabataean pottery of the first century B.C. and of the first two centuries A.D., although there are already some points of differentiation which have been recognized. The Nabataean potters of approximately the 2nd century A.D. no longer seem able to produce the fine, thin, beautifully ornamented pottery of the two preceding centuries. They attempted to, but their finest ware, although clearly a continuation of the earlier tradition, is noticeably inferior to the delicate pottery it was patterned after. It is inconceivable that prior to the Roman conquest of the Nabataean kingdom there should not have been Nabataean fortresses and police-posts and caravanserais along the highways, such as the Wādī el-'Arabah, the Wādī Yitm and the Wādī Ramm, frequented by Nabataean caravans.⁶⁹

Another site, similar in the main periods of its occupation to Qaṣr el-Kitharā, is situated about 24 km. farther n. n. e. in the Wādī Yitm, near the point where the *wādī* widens out to form a small plain called el-Medifein (el-Medeifen).⁷⁰ It is called Kh. el-Khâldeh⁷¹ (13), its location being determined by the presence of the 'Ain or Moyet el-Khâldeh to the s. w. of it. On a low saddle between two hills of the range bordering the e. side of Wādī el-Yitm are situated two much ruined structures, which served as fortresses and caravanserais. Remains of two cisterns in the *wādī*, to which a still partly visible channel led from the 'ain, testify to the manner in which a sufficient supply of water was maintained throughout the year. The northern one of the two ruined structures is the larger. It is oriented e.-w., measures approximately 45 by 35 m.,⁷² and has a rectangular tower at each corner. Rooms are built against the walls on the inside, and also against each side of a n.-s. cross-wall, which divides the interior into two separate halves with separate courts. There is a small *birkeh* in the east of these two courts. About 50 m. to the south of this build-

⁶⁹ ANNUAL XV, pp. 142-3; *Bulletin* 65, p. 9.

⁷⁰ RB 41, p. 595.

⁷¹ Nov. 10, 1936.

⁷² RB 41, p. 596; Alt, ZDPV 59, p. 102 gives as approximate measurements 52 by 32 m. A sudden downpour prevented the writer from taking his own measurements.

ing is a smaller one, measuring about 30 by 20 m.,⁷³ also having rooms built against its walls on the inside. The walls of both structures are built of rows of rudely cut granite blocks, with smaller stones between the larger ones to keep the rows fairly straight. In the larger building a number of sandstone blocks was found, which had probably been built into windows and doors. The sandstone blocks on the n. side of this building may have belonged to the main entrance. Some of the sandstone blocks are drafted in typical Nabataean tooling with lines running at 45° angle (Fig. 9).⁷⁴ Numerous Nabataean,



Fig. 9. Block with Nabataean tooling,
from Kh. Khâldeh.

Roman, and Byzantine sherds were found by both buildings, with apparently a larger number of Nabataean sherds by the s. building. Inasmuch, however, as the same types of Nabataean sherds were found by both buildings, the seeming predominance of the Nabataean sherds by the smaller, s. building, may be fortuitous. There is probably some difference in date of the construction of the two buildings, but the present surface finds do not permit a definite differentiation. It is quite possible also, particularly with regard to the larger structure, that there are several building periods represented.⁷⁵ The location of Kh. el-Khâldeh on the important highway of Wâdî el-Yitm, which in the Nabataean period led, as has already been noted, into the heart of the thickly

⁷³ RB 41, p. 596; Alt, loc. cit. gives 31.50 by 21.50 m.

⁷⁴ *Bulletin* 65, p. 9; RB 41, p. 596 and Pl. XIX: 2; 44, p. 276; *ANNUAL* XV, p. 54, n. 155; QDAP VII, (1938), Pl. XVII: 3.

⁷⁵ RB 41, p. 596.

settled Nabataean kingdom, the presence of fine Nabataean pottery and of Nabataean masonry, lead us to believe that both buildings were originally Nabataean, before they were taken over and perhaps reconstructed by the Romans. The presence of Roman and Byzantine sherds in addition to the Nabataean indicate the extent of the continuous occupation of the site, which seems to have been abandoned about the 6th century A. D. Savignac too is of the opinion that the fortresses of Kh. el-Khâldeh were originally Nabataean and were taken over and perhaps strengthened by the Romans when the Nabataean kingdom became part of a Roman province, and the Bostra-Aila road was built which passed beneath this site.⁷⁶ Insisting, however, on the Roman origin of the two ruins at Kh. el-Khâldeh, Alt is constrained to suggest that the masonry drafted in the Nabataean fashion, with lines running at a 45° angle, may have been cut by Nabataean masons employed by the Romans. That is certainly possible, but why the insistence implied here and in similar connection elsewhere with regard to the 'Arabah,⁷⁷ that there were no earlier Nabataean buildings constructed with stones cut by Nabataean masons for Nabataeans? Alt's counter-question:⁷⁸ "Ich kann daher die von Glueck an mich gerichtete Frage, wo die Nabataeischen Bauten geblieben sein sollen, wenn die in Trümmern vorhandenen durchweg römischen Ursprungs sind, nur mit der Gegenfrage beantworten, woraus das Postulat abgeleitet werden soll, dass schon die Nabatäer solche Bauten an den betreffenden Orten hatten," has been answered, we believe, by our pointing out the military and economic importance of the Wâdī el-'Arabah, the Wâdī Yitm, and the Wâdī Ramm in the days of the Nabataean kingdom. The highways through these *wadyân* also in pre-Roman Nabataean times were of necessity dotted with military posts and caravanserais, which served the needs of public security and of intensive commerce. Only indirectly does Alt grant the possibility of dating Nabataean sherds at these sites in the 'Arabah and the Wâdī Yitm to the period of the pre-Roman occupation.⁷⁹ The discoveries at Kh. et-Tannûr give more conclusive evidence than it has previously been possible to offer of the pre-Roman origin of much of the fine Nabataean pottery. Perhaps now Alt will be more ready to admit than previously that there was a Nabataean occupation of the 'Arabah and the Wâdī Yitm before the Romans appeared on the scene, and that the people who made pre-Roman, Nabataean pottery must also have built caravanserais and fortresses in these areas.⁸⁰ Be that as it may, Alt has per-

⁷⁶ RB 41, p. 596.

⁷⁷ ZDPV 58, pp. 12-15; 59, pp. 166-7; cf. ANNUAL XV, pp. 141-2.

⁷⁸ ZDPV 59, p. 166.

⁷⁹ ZDPV 59, p. 167.

⁸⁰ Alt, ZDPV 58, p. 15, n. 1.

formed an important service in emphasizing the Roman occupation of the 'Arabah, as evidenced by archaeological and literary materials. Evidence of the Byzantine occupation of Kh. el-Khâldeh is furnished by a reused building block, on which was incised a Greek inscription. The stone was found inside the ruins of the larger of the two structures. The much weathered inscription is hardly legible, but would seem from general characteristics to belong somewhere in the 6th-7th century A. D., according to J. H. Iliffe. The stone

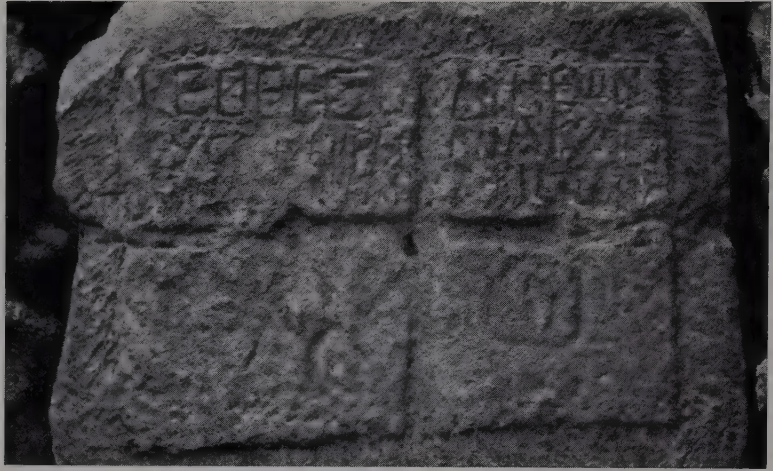


Fig. 10. Greek inscription from Kh. Khâldeh.

seems to have been reused and recut after the inscription was made. It may originally have served as a tombstone. Iliffe has suggested the following reading (Fig. 10):

KE□BECW	ΔΥBPWN
ΕΥC HPH	ΜΑΚΑ
ΝΙΚΑΙ	ΠΙΕΤΩ

l. 1 KE = Κήριε (?)

l. 2.3 = Μακάριε (?)

About 4 km. w.s.w. of Kh. el-Khâldeh, we came across a small, ruined watch-tower (12) on the Trajan road. Only a handful of sherds was found by it. There were several fine rims, and one fine rouletted sherd, all much worn and of the Nabataean-Roman type. The tower was oriented approxi-

mately n.-s., and measured about 8 by 6.50 m. It was probably built in connection with the Roman road, although it is not impossible that it was built earlier. Between el-Kuweirah and Kh. el-Khâldeh a number of Roman milestones can be seen.⁸¹

Traversing the Wādī Yitm and the Wādī Ḥismeh, and ascending the Jebel esh-Shera'⁸² to the top of the Edomite plateau, we halted at the Jurf ed-Derāwīsh,⁸³ one of the southernmost stations along the Damascus-Ma'an railroad, in order to examine an ancient site, which we had previously seen, but had been unable to visit, namely Rujm el-Jeḥeirah (27).⁸⁴ It was, we were to discover, another unit of the line of fortresses guarding the e. border of Edom. For the sake of clarity, it may be repeated that these border fortresses and police-posts are all situated west of the modern railway line, and served to protect the narrow strip of fertile highland extending the length of Edom from the inroads of the Desert.⁸⁵ The strategic positions of the border-fortresses on the tops of the highest hills in the arid uncultivated area between the Desert and the Sown, which we had previously examined, made it seem likely that similarly situated ruins were also border fortresses. Thus, even before actually examining Rujm el-Jeḥeirah, our belief had been that this site, which was visible from afar, must also have been an Edomite frontier-post dating to EI I-II.⁸⁶ Similarly, when another fortress, Rujm Baḥash (28), situated on top of a high hill, first became visible after ascending the hill on which Rujm el-Jeḥeirah was located, with the same general appearance, it too could be tentatively identified as an Early Iron Age border fortress. We mention this not in an attempt to convince ourselves and perhaps the reader of our own perspicacity, but because of the desire to indicate as clearly as possible the method adopted by the Edomites in fortifying wherever possible along their eastern boundary these strategically placed hills, which jut above the surrounding countryside like giant mushrooms above rough fields, and afford clear views over large distances. Rujm el-Jeḥeirah⁸⁷ is situated on top of a hill about 12 km. s. w. of Jurf ed-Derāwīsh. It is on a direct line between Rujm Ḥālā el-Qarāneh (29) to the n. n. e. and Rujm Ṭawīl Ifjeij (26) to the s. s. w. of it, both sites being visible from it. The large Roman site of Da'jānīyeh

⁸¹ ZDPV 59, pp. 98-101.

⁸² ANNUAL XV, pp. 53. 58. 62-6. 72-3. 79. 83. 87-90. 93. 97.

⁸³ ANNUAL XIV, p. 80; XV, p. 96.

⁸⁴ ANNUAL XV, p. 97.

⁸⁵ ANNUAL XV, p. 95; HUCA XI, pp. 143-4.

⁸⁶ ANNUAL XV, p. 97; *Bulletin* 65, p. 14; HUCA XI, p. 143.

⁸⁷ Aug. 15, 1936.

is visible to the south of it.⁸⁸ The line of hill-fortresses along the e. border of Edom runs a few kilometres west of the n.-s. line on which Da'jāniyeh is located. In Nabataean and Roman times, the line of settlements and fortresses and police-posts extended much farther east than during the Early Iron Age and the Early Bronze Age, as evidenced for example by the Roman Da'jāniyeh and the Nabataean Bâir Wells.⁸⁹ We shall see, also, when we come to discuss the eastern boundary of Moab, that beyond the line of fortresses which mark its length, there are other sites of later periods to the east of it.⁹⁰ While the density of population permanently settled on the soil was surprisingly great in the Early Iron and the Early Bronze Ages, considerably more so than in modern Transjordan, the number of inhabitants in Transjordan in Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine times far exceeded even the earlier periods, primarily because of their superior knowledge of methods of conservation of water. The Edomite border fortresses on their high hills were dependent for water supplies upon cisterns. There was also water in the *wudyân* below them during the rainy season; the water was sometimes obtainable during the dry season by digging in the beds of the *wudyân* and tapping the underground water supply. In some instances it is probable that skins of water were conveyed to the isolated garrisons by donkey or camel pack. Rujm el-Jeḥeirah obtained water both from supplies collected in cisterns, and from the *wudyân* below it, where, as we were informed, water can be found even during the dry season by digging shallow pits down to its sub-surface level. Below the s. e. corner of the *rujm* are two caves filled with debris, which in all likelihood were once used as cave-cisterns. There also seems to be a filled-in cistern almost completely buried under debris below the n. e. corner of the *rujm*. Near the e. side of the hill on which Rujm Jeḥeirah is situated, extending from north to south on its e. side, and being at first more or less parallel to each other, are Wādī Jeḥeirah, Wādī Burmah, and a third small *wādī*, whose name we could not ascertain. The ruined fortress of Rujm el-Jeḥeirah is oriented approximately e. s. e. by w. n. w., measures approximately 13 m. square, and at the present time is about 3.40 m. high above the level of the ground. It is in a much ruined state, which is particularly true of the e. wall. The w. wall is the best preserved one. The walls are built of roughly hewn flint and some basalt blocks. Flint and basalt boulders are strewn in gloomy confusion across the surface of the plain around the hill of Rujm el-Jeḥeirah. Inside the square blockhouse there is an inner platform which measures about 8 by 5.50 m. The walls of the block-

⁸⁸ ANNUAL XIV, p. 76; XV, p. 95; PA II, pp. 8-13.

⁸⁹ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 72-5; XV, p. 109.

⁹⁰ See below pp. 242-9; *Bulletin* 65, 24-5.

house seem to be 2.20 m. thick. Against them was built a rough, flint block glacis, parts of which are still in place. The glacis, which is now about 2.10 m. high, extends at its base 1.30 m. from the w. wall at the s. w. corner. The outside of the glacis at its top is .65 m. from the outside of the w. wall. On this ruin there was no modern survey cairn, as on the other similar Edomite border fortresses which we had previously examined. Immediately below the base of the *rujm*, on all its sides except the east, are remnants of walls of small compounds, and foundations of a few stone huts, in which perhaps the families of the members of the garrison may have been housed. In the vicinity of modern border fortresses in e. Transjordan today, one can see the tents or sometimes the rude houses in which the families of the guardsmen live. The entire hill rises rather abruptly above the plain around it, but its steepest side faces the east. On all of the slopes, but particularly on the s. e. side of the *rujm* and on the s. e. slope, were found sherds, which dated the occupations of this site. Most of them were EI sherds belonging to the period extending approximately between the 13th century and the 8th-7th century B. C. In addition, a small quantity of Nabataean sherds of all types was found. These Nabataean sherds demonstrate again what had previously been found to be true, namely, that the Nabataeans incorporated the entire system of Edomite border fortresses into their own defence scheme, and enlarged upon it. In the Nabataean period, however, to judge from the smaller quantity of Nabataean sherds compared to the EI Edomite sherds, a smaller garrison policed the post than in the previous period. This was found to be true also for the other Edomite border fortresses, with the exception of Rujm Râs el-Ḥâlâ (31). The reason was that the Nabataeans did not have as much to fear from the desert to the east as the Edomites, because they themselves largely controlled the desert a good deal farther to the east than their predecessors did.⁹¹ From the top of Rujm el-Jeḥeirah, one commands a clear view for miles round about, and particularly of the desert to the east. Jurf ed-Derāwîsh is to the e. n. e. of it. In addition to the other two Edomite border fortresses visible from it, namely Rujm Ḥâlâ el-Qarâneh and Rujm Ṭawîl Ifjeij, another fortress can be seen from it on a lower hill between it and Rujm Ḥâlâ el-Qarâneh. It is called Rujm el-Baḥash. Because of an intervening rise of land, it is not visible from Rujm Ḥâlâ el-Qarâneh to the n. n. e. of it. Rujm el-Jeḥeirah is due south, about 3 km. distant from Rujm el-Baḥash, which in turn is about 10 km. from Jurf ed-Derāwîsh to the east of it. The *rujm* is situated on the e. end of the fairly flat top of a small hill, which commands the approach from the east, and protects a sort of a "blind-spot" between Rujm el-Jeḥeirah and

⁹¹ *Annual* XIV, p. 72; XV, pp. 95-6; ME II: 2, p. 232; RB 46, (1937), p. 376.

Rujm Hâlâ el-Qarâneh. Coming from the s. e., and skirting the n. side of the hill on which Rujm el-Baḥash is situated, is the Wādī Hadaiyeh. On the s. side of the hill is the Wādī Tôr 'Ajā'iz. To the s. e. is a small range of hills, covered with flint and basalt boulders, which is called Jebel Burmah. To the south, and also a good distance beyond Rujm el-Jeḥeīrah, the black hills of Jebel 'Aneizeh are visible. The highest hill of the 'Aneizeh group would have made an excellent place for an Edomite border fortress, but nothing was visible



Fig. 11. Rujm Baḥash, lk. n. w.

on top of it, and repeated questioning of natives of the district always brought the same answer, that there were no ruins of any kind there. We could not at the time climb the hills to make a thorough examination, so the possibility remains that some early site may yet be found somewhere on the Jebel 'Aneizeh chain. That seems unlikely, however, because of the negative results of the questioning of the natives, whose knowledge of the district had otherwise proved to be very accurate, and because of the likelihood that had there been Edomite ruins on top of Jebel 'Aneizeh they would have been as well preserved and as conspicuously placed as the ruins of the other Edomite border fortresses in this district. Rujm el-Baḥash (Fig. 11) was found to be a fairly well-preserved blockhouse, measuring 11 m. square, with a glaçis built against its walls (28). It is oriented w. n. w. by e. s. e. The e. side is the best preserved one, with the rough walls of a courtyard extending beyond it. The wall at the n. e. corner is still 5 m. high, comprising 9 courses of masonry visible above

the top of the remaining glacis, which at this point is still 1.80 m. high. The top of the glacis at the present time extends about 1.60 m. beyond the walls, while its base extends about 2 m. beyond the base of the walls. The walls have buckled inwards considerably. They are made of rough rows of rudely hewn flint blocks, with some smaller stones between the rows to ensure comparative straightness. The corners are constructed in the header-stretcher fashion characteristic of the Early Iron Age.⁹² The debris from the ruined fortress and the modern corrals built near the walls made it impossible definitely to establish whether or not the site was provided with cisterns. There seemed to be two filled-up cisterns in the courtyard on the e. side, but that could be established with certainty only by clearing away some of the debris. Large numbers of worn EI I-II Edomite sherds were found round about the site, and on the slopes below it, the bulk of which date between the 13th and the 8th-7th century B. C. There were also some Nabataean sherds, testifying to the subsequent Nabataean occupation of this Edomite fortress, which was taken over, evidently, without any structural changes whatsoever. Most of the Edomite sites were thus simply commandeered by the Nabataeans, who so to speak moved in after the retreating Edomites, and hoisted their own banner and introduced their own pottery. That is not perhaps quite accurately put, in the sense that it is not to be imagined that all of the Edomites emigrated *en bloc* out of their former territory to settle in southern Palestine, where the district in which they lived became known as Idumaea.⁹³ Many of the Edomites were pushed out by the infiltrating Nabataeans, and others probably had been driven out even before the accession of the Nabataeans to power by the Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians.⁹⁴ It is, however, no more reasonable to assume that all the Edomites left or were expelled from Edom, than it is correct to say that all the Judaeans left or were expelled from their homeland as a result of similar conquests. There must have been many pure-blooded descendants of the Edomites of the once strong Edomite kingdom who intermarried with the Nabataeans, and eventually to all intents and purposes were effectively absorbed by them.⁹⁵ There was after all a close blood kinship between Edomites

⁹² ANNUAL XIV, p. 54; XV, pp. 61.107; Fisher, OIC 4, p. 73, fig. 52; Guy, OIC 9, pp. 32-4; 36, fig. 24; 43, fig. 31.

⁹³ Mk. 3, 8; I Macc. 5, 65; II Macc. 10, 16; Josephus, *Antiquities*, XII, 9, 1; *De Bello Judaico*, I, 2, 6; III, 3, 5; IV, 8, 1.

⁹⁴ Glueck, *The Boundaries of Edom*, HUCA XI, pp. 142.152; ANNUAL XV, pp. 52-3; RB 46 (1937), p. 380.

⁹⁵ RB 46 (1937), p. 380; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie* XVI: 2, col. 1457; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 233; Glueck, *Nabataean Syria and Nabataean Transjordan*, JPOS XVIII (1938), pp. 1-6.

and Nabataeans, as indeed there was between Judaeans and Edomites and later Idumaeans. The nature of the mutual relationships of these groups, and an interesting cycle of history, can be no better illustrated than by calling to mind the marriage of Herod Antipas, the son of Herod the Great, of Idumaeans origin, to the daughter of the Nabataean king, Aretas IV,—and her flight from him. It is quite likely, therefore, that many of the former Edomite fortresses and police-posts were occupied by garrisons which were composed either in part or even completely of Nabataeanized Edomites, just as in a partly contemporary period the throne of Judaea was occupied by Judaized Idumaeans.⁹⁶

With the identification of Rujm el-Jeḥeirah and Rujm el-Baḥash as Edomite fortresses of the EI I-II period, it is now possible to trace most of the line of the e. frontier of the Edomite kingdom. It is marked by a line of fortresses which extends approximately n.-s. a few kilometres west of the n.-s. line on which Da'jāniyeh is located.⁹⁷ Commencing with er-Ruweihah,⁹⁸ overlooking the Wādī el-Ḥesā (the River Zered) at the n. e. corner of Edom, the eastern Edomite border is further marked, going from north to south, by Rujm Jâ'ez, Rujm Abū el-'Azām, Kh. Bakher, Rujm Mughâmes, Rujm el-Ḥamrā,⁹⁹ Rujm Râs el-Ḥâlā, Rujm Ḥâlā el-Qarâneh, Rujm el-Baḥash, Rujm el-Jeḥeirah, Kh. Ṭawīl Ifjeij, Kh. el-Meqdes(?), Kh. el-Far'ah(?), Kh. el-Moreighah, and Kh. esh-Shedeiyid(?) and Kh. Neqb esh-Shtâr at the s. e. corner. The sites we have listed with the question mark behind them are Edomite EI I-II sites, but are not proper border fortresses, being located really in cultivable areas and being somewhat too far west perhaps to be listed in that category. We have not yet succeeded in finding a border fortress to the east of Kh. esh-Shedeiyid and Kh. Neqb esh-Shtâr, but there ought to be one, it seems to us. Both of the latter places, however, were strongly fortified, and perhaps no other border fortresses were necessary to supplement them, particularly in view of the excellent strategic positions they occupied near the s. e. edge of the Edomite plateau overlooking the descent from the Jebel esh-Shera' to the Wādī el-Ḥismeh¹⁰⁰ (Fig. 12). Be that as it may, it is clear that the sites listed give in part exactly, and in part approximately, the eastern boundary of Edom. We had thought that some Edomite outposts might have existed in the Ḥismeh Valley to protect the caravan route which must have led through it and the Wādī el-Yitm to the 'Arabah and the Red Sea, and again through

⁹⁶ Deut. 23, 8; ANNUAL XV, p. 113; JPOS XVIII (1938), p. 6.

⁹⁷ HUCA XI, pp. 143-4.

⁹⁸ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 69-77; XV, p. 106; *Bulletin* 67, p. 24.

⁹⁹ See below pp. 51-3.

¹⁰⁰ ANNUAL XV, pp. 53-5. 57-63. 65. 71. 112.

the Wādī el-Ḥismeh and the Wādī Ramm into interior Arabia.¹⁰¹ Neither at el-Kuweirah¹⁰² in the Wādī el-Ḥismeh, nor at Kh. el-Khâldeh¹⁰³ in the Wādī Yitm, nor at Qaşr el-Kitharā at the confluence of the Wādī Yitm and the Wādī Ramm, where we had previously suggested that Edomite remains might be found,¹⁰⁴ were there any to be located. There were numerous paths and



Fig. 12. Overlooking Wādī el-Ḥismeh from Neqb esh-Shtâr.

tracks through *wudyân* leading down into the 'Arabah directly westward from the Edomite plateau, which caravans could then follow down to the Red Sea. The apparent absence, however, of Edomite outposts along the caravan tracks leading through that part of the Wādī el-Ḥismeh which might conceivably be accounted as belonging to the Edomite "sphere of interest," probably means that the Edomite caravans were accompanied by armed escorts whenever necessary, even as pilgrim caravans are today.

The Nabataean reoccupation of an Edomite EI I-II site is illustrated by

¹⁰¹ *Bulletin* 65, p. 9; *HUCA* XI, p. 144; *ANNUAL* XV, pp. 53-4, 61; *RB* 44 (1935), pp. 245-78.

¹⁰² *ANNUAL* XV, pp. 55-8.

¹⁰³ *ANNUAL* XV, p. 54. n. 155; *Bulletin* 65, p. 9.

¹⁰⁴ *HUCA* XI, p. 144.

Sela' (34), situated about 8 km. s. s. w. of Ṭafīleh in a straight line. We have previously shown that the Biblical Sela' is to be identified with Umm el-Biyārah in Petra.¹⁰⁵ There must, however, have existed during the Early Iron Age in Eastern Palestine numerous sites built on more or less isolated prominences and known by the name of Sela'. This Sela'¹⁰⁶ near Ṭafīleh is one of them. There is every reason to believe that its name has been handed down from early Edomite times, contemporary with the history of the Biblical Sela'. The name suits the site excellently. It was Peake Pasha who first called our attention to the site, which he had previously visited and photographed.¹⁰⁷ Opposite the small, modern village of Sela', with its springs known as the Moyet Dleib, and across the small Wādī el-Hirsh, there is visible to the n. w. the completely isolated, jagged, precipitous hill called es-Sela', with the similarly named ancient site on top of it. On the n. e. side of the hill is the Wādī Jamal, which together with the Wādī el-Hirsh joins the Wādī eṣ-Ṣidreh on its w. side, thus completely isolating it. The Wādī eṣ-Ṣidreh then apparently joins the Seil el-Maṭān, which bends n. n. w. down to the Ghôr.¹⁰⁸ The es-Sela' hill was once the center of an intensively cultivated area, which is now almost completely desolate. The hillsides round about it show traces of extensive terracing. The hillside sloping down to the Wādī el-Hirsh below the modern village was once completely terraced, but only a few of the terraces are intact and cultivated today. A narrow cleft down this hillside, widening at the bottom of the slope, was once damned up by a strong, stone-block wall thrown across its outlet. At one time, thus, a considerable amount of water was impounded (Fig. 13). Part of this wall is still intact, being 2.15 m. thick, and covered with thick coats of plaster on the outside, and especially on the inside surface. A rock-cut channel twisting down this hillside once led the water from the springs above to the formerly terraced fields in the Wādī el-Hirsh, which are now sandy wastes. There are traces of steps which led down this hillside, and clear remains of the narrow staircase known as the Khāndaq, which led up the steep, s. e. slope of the es-Sela' hill to the ancient site on top of it. It is probable that the modern village of es-Sela' is built over an ancient site. The extensiveness of the modern debris, however, makes it impossible to find any surface remains, which might reveal the nature of any ancient occupation there. The steps up the hill of ancient es-Sela' lead near the top to a narrow *siq*, which seems to be the only entrance to ancient es-Sela' (Fig. 14). Just before the entrance

¹⁰⁵ ANNUAL XIV, p. 77; XV, pp. 52. 61. 82; Dalman, *Petra u. s. Felsheiligtümer*, pp. 6. 226-9.

¹⁰⁶ Visited Nov. 17, 1937; cf. ANNUAL XV, pp. 100. 113.

¹⁰⁷ *Bulletin* 65, p. 28.

¹⁰⁸ ME II: 1, pp. 318-9.

into es-Sela', the staircase could be closed by a door swung across it, and locked by a strong bar behind it fitting into apertures on either side of the doorway. Entering into es-Sela' proper, one finds oneself on the small, irregular top of the hill. Most of the area is given over to catchment basins, cisterns, and some

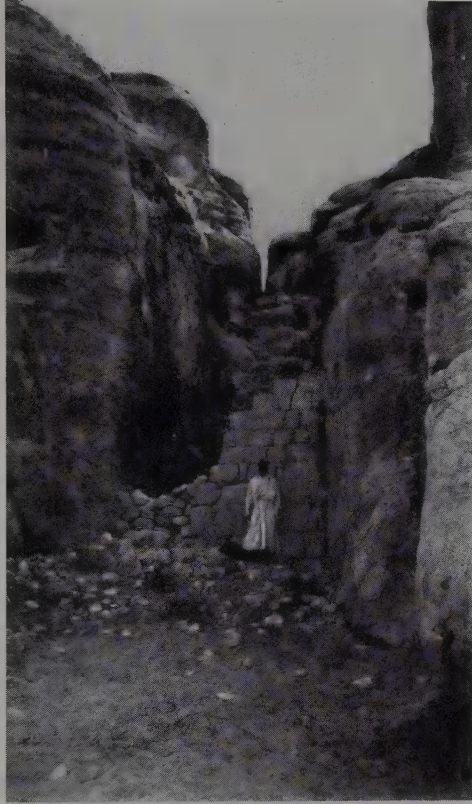


Fig. 13. Dam below Sela', lk. s. e.

houses hewn for the most part directly out of the sandstone. The site is a miniature Petra, without however any of the grandeur of architecture either of Petra or the smaller site of el-Bâred.¹⁰⁹ Despite the angularity of the site, the genius of the Nabataeans for conserving the rainfall is nowhere better exemplified than at this small, predominantly Nabataean site of es-Sela'. All

¹⁰⁹ ANNUAL II, pp. 35. 86-7.

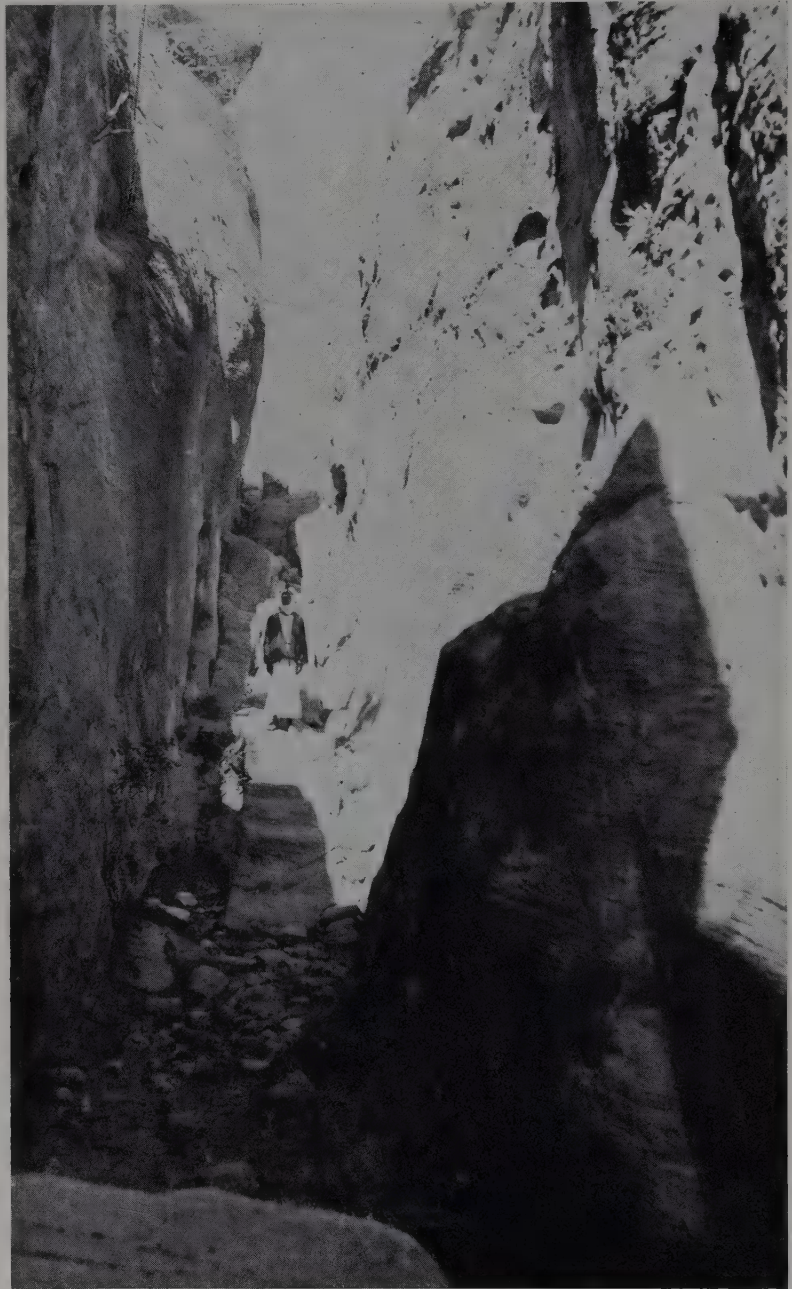


Fig. 14. Siq of es-Sela' (Courtesy Peake Pasha).

indications pointed to its being primarily a Nabataean site. The entire hill-top was pitted with cisterns and small reservoirs, and the water caught and preserved in them could supply easily the needs of a community of at least a hundred people or more for a year. Dominating the rest of the site is a small, prominent, cone-shaped projection (Fig. 15), which too was impressed into the service of storing water. In the center of it, a deep cistern had been sunk. No other people before or after the Nabataeans in all probability would have thought of utilizing the cone for this purpose. The top of this cone was encircled by a wall, constructed of well hewn sandstone blocks. It may have supported a building, but more probably it served to raise the outer level of the cone and thus help to deflect all the rain-water which fell on the top of it to the cistern in its center. The only other possibility for the use of this cistern is that it was used as a storage bin, but similar cisterns in equally unlikely locations were found, as we shall see, at Sheikh er-Rîsh.¹¹⁰ This cone-shaped outcrop dropped precipitously on its n. w. side, as seen in fig. 15. Steps cut in the rock led down its s. e. side to a fairly flat ridge, where there was an almost completely destroyed *birkeh*, which had been partly hewn out of rock and partly constructed of building blocks, thickly plastered together. At the east and southeast ends of this flat ridge were the remains of private houses. They were partly hewn out of the solid rock, and partly constructed of rectangular blocks of stone. The houses were plastered on the inside, and some of them were pretentiously painted with brilliant red, blue, and green patterns. At the e. end of the ridge was a house, which was oriented e. n. e. by w. s. w. The main, e. room of this house had a vaulted roof, part of which still remains. This room was hewn out of the solid rock, for the most part. The n. end of the room, and part of its n. e. wall were constructed out of hewn blocks of stone. This vaulted room measures 2.70 by 3.10 m. (Fig. 16). A large doorway leads from the w. side of this room to an entrance chamber or small courtyard on a lower level, measuring 4 m. square. In the middle of it is a very large cistern. The rain water from off the roof of the vaulted e. room ran into a small rock-hewn reservoir behind it to the south, whence it was led through a rock-cut channel into the cistern in the w. chamber, via a settling basin. When the cistern was full, the channel could be blocked off, and the water diverted through an aperture in the south wall to a reservoir below it. It was particularly in the vaulted room that remnants of brilliantly painted plaster could be seen. The painting seems to have been done in horizontal bands of green, blue, and red colors.¹¹¹ Though no traces of floral and leaf designs were

¹¹⁰ See below pp. 38-41.

¹¹¹ RB 44, (1935), pp. 257 f. and fig. 11.

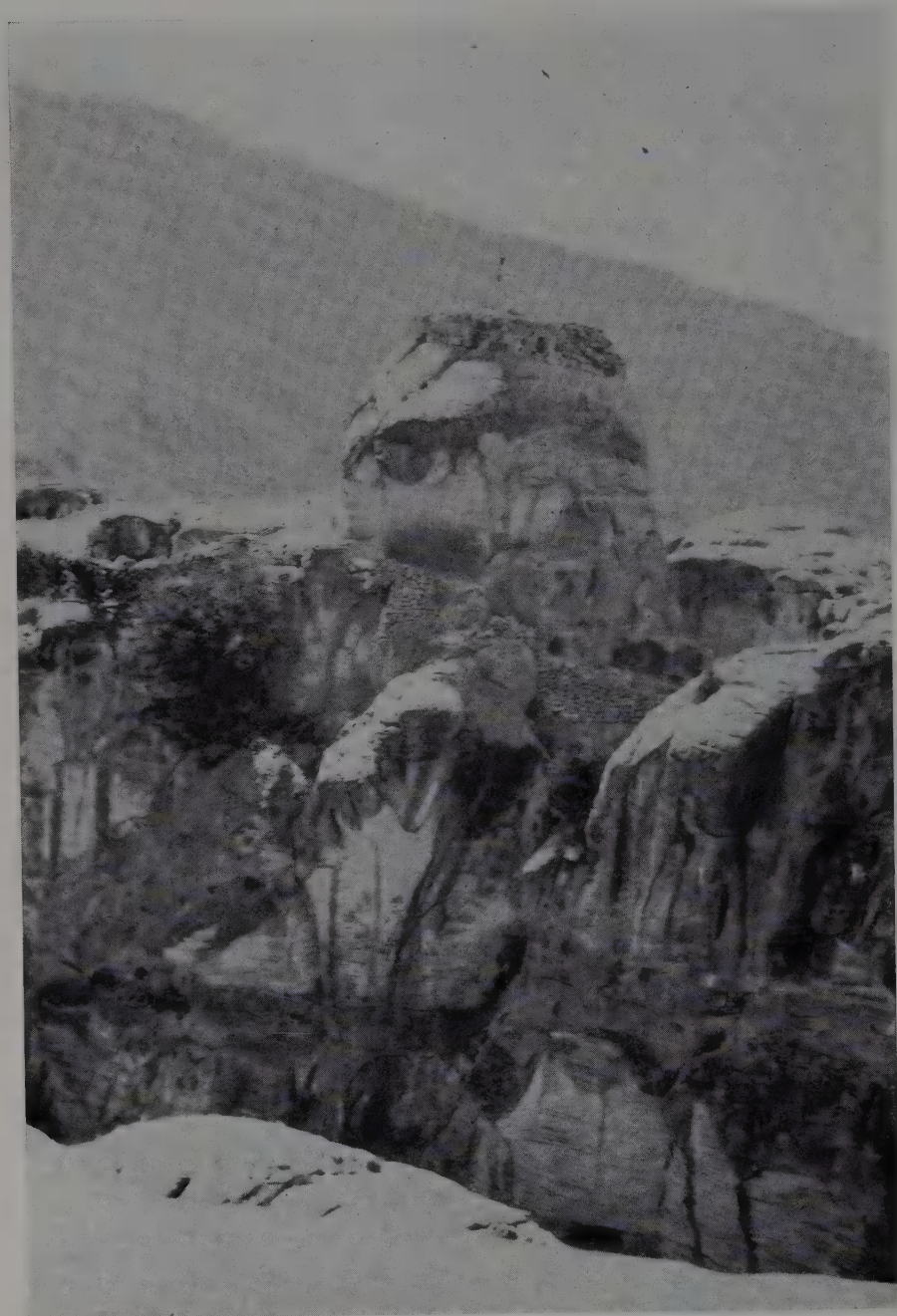


Fig. 15. es-Sela', lk. n. w. (Courtesy Peake Pasha).



Fig. 16. House at es-Sela' (Courtesy Peake Pasha).

found, it seems reasonable to believe that such paintings also existed, comparable to those found at el-Bâred¹¹² (Fig. 16a), and at the temple in the Wâdî Ramm,¹¹³ for example. The deity worshipped at es-Sela' was evidently the same Dushara, who is met with so frequently at Petra. Numerous Dushara niches can be seen at es-Sela'. On the s. e. side of the hill, at the top, there stands out prominently a somewhat rounded and almost isolated outspur, in which originally there may have been a small, natural cave. This was considerably enlarged by the Nabataeans, who also carved out of the rock inside a large stone pedestal, attached only at the back end to the rear wall of the cave. This pedestal may be considered the Dushara throne.¹¹⁴ The large entrance to the cave (Fig. 17) faces east, so that the sun in the morning shines full on the Dushara seat. We are reminded of the sacred cave on Mt. Horeb, in which the deity was resident, and at whose entrance Elijah stood with covered countenance hearkening to the word of the Lord.¹¹⁵ The sacred cave at es-Sela' may be practically a duplicate of the sacred cave on Mt. Horeb. The identification of es-Sela' as a Nabataean site was further confirmed by the discovery there of numerous Nabataean sherds. A few sherds were found which may be Byzantine. Of utmost importance for the pre-Nabataean history of the site is the fact that indubitable EI I-II sherds were also found there, showing that es-Sela' was an Edomite stronghold before it was occupied and further strengthened by the Nabataeans. The large site of Buṣeirah (ancient Bozrah)¹¹⁶ is only a few kilometres distance to the e. s. e. from es-Sela'.

In ANNUAL XIV¹¹⁷ we published the heads of two figurines from el-Medeiyineh and Bālū'ah, and the head and upper part of the body of a similar figurine found below Mt. Nebo. All of them belong to the Early Iron Age. Since then Harding has published photographs of two similar figurines, one of them found in the neighborhood of Kerak, being almost exactly the same as the one from below Mt. Nebo, and the other related to it, of unknown provenance.¹¹⁸ Mr. Harding has most kindly given permission to republish photo-

¹¹² ANNUAL XV, pp. 86-7; PA I, pp. 412-4; Horsfield, G. and A., "Sela-Petra, the Rock of Edom and Nabatene," QDAP VII (1938), Pl. L.

¹¹³ RB 44, (1935), pp. 245-78.

¹¹⁴ Dalman, *Petra u. s. Felsheiligtümer*, pp. 57. 125. 134. 144. 147-8. 164-5. 179. 280; Glueck, *The Early History of Khirbet Tannūr*, *Bulletin* 69, p. 17.

¹¹⁵ I Kings 19, 8. 9. 13; Exodus 33, 21-3; 34, 3. 6. 8; Morgenstern, *HUCA* IV, pp. 20. 32. 69.

¹¹⁶ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 76-9. 81; XV, pp. 83. 97-8.

¹¹⁷ Pp. 24-5, and figs. 7 and 8.

¹¹⁸ PEQ 1937, pp. 254-5, and Pl. X, figs. 8 and 9.



Fig. 16a. Nabataean mural from el-Bâred.

(Courtesy École biblique et archéologique française, Jerusalem, and Palestine Archaeological Museum).



Fig. 17. Dushara cave and seat at es-Sela'.



a

(Courtesy Transjordan Dept. Antiquities).



b

(Courtesy Palestine Archaeological Museum).

Fig. 18. Female figurines with fertility(?) symbol.

a) from near Kerak.

b) from Beisân.

graphs of these figurines, and also of some others found near Buṣeirah, at a place called Kh. Jenin or Kedhabeh,¹¹⁹ in order to complete the record of the Transjordan figurines in this publication. The figurine shown in PEQ 1937, pl. X: 9, of unknown provenance,¹²⁰ is obviously feminine, and is shown clutching some ovoid object against her left breast and side. A similarly shaped object is being held in the hands of the figurine from near Kerak, shown in fig. 18a. This figurine is almost exactly the same as the one found near Mt. Nebo,¹²¹ the head of which in turn is the same as the heads of the figurines from el-Medeiyneh and Bālû'ah,¹²² to which the writer wrongly assigned a masculine gender. There is now no question but that this type of figurine represents a goddess (Aštoreth?), holding an object symbolic of fertility. Similar figurines have been found in Palestine at Beisân (Fig. 18 b), and Megiddo.^{122a} A related type of goddess, holding a cylindrical object, and crowned with a saucer lamp is shown in fig. 19 a. b. To judge from the lamp, the figurine is to be assigned to EI II. The hair is represented by ridges on the back and sides of the head, with an ornamental row of holes punched across the forehead immediately beneath the lamp. While of much cruder construction than the related figurines mentioned above, which were made in a mold in contrast to this figurine made partly on the wheel and modeled partly by hand, common to both types is the extremely long, pointed chin. The head of another "lamp-goddess" is seen in fig. 19 d. e. Around the front of the neck is a collar decorated with a double row of punched holes, while the back and sides of the head are covered with strips of clay representing locks of hair. The lower left cheek is tattooed with three holes, which remind us of the incisions on the right cheek of the bearded head of a figurine from el-Medeiyneh.¹²³ The head of a figurine on which is a lamp of the latter part of EI II, very similar to the heads of these Transjordan "lamp-goddesses," was found at 'Ain Shems, and in all probability belongs to the same type of figurine. The 'Ain Shems head (Fig. 20 a-c) is the only one of its kind from Palestine known to the writer, who is indebted to Prof. Elihu Grant for the permission to publish it.^{123a} With the two Transjordan "lamp-goddesses" which, together with a multiple lamp on a stand and two ordinary lamps were found near Buṣeirah,¹²⁴ was found the crude figurine of another stand-goddess (Fig. 19c), the head of which fitted separately into the body by means of a prong,

¹¹⁹ ANNUAL XIV, p. 78.

¹²¹ ANNUAL XIV, p. 26, fig. 8.

¹²⁰ PEQ 1937, p. 255, and Pl. X, fig. 9.

¹²² ANNUAL XIV, p. 25, fig. 7.

^{122a} Palestine Archaeological Museum, nos. 36.926; 36.944; 36.958.

¹²³ ANNUAL XIV, p. 26, fig. 6.

^{123a} Cf. Grant, *Ain Shems Excavations*, Pt. II, p. 75, pl. XLV: 20.

¹²⁴ PEQ 1937, pp. 253-4.



Fig. 19. Figurines found near Buṣeirah.

(Courtesy Transjordan and Palestine Departments of Antiquity).

a practice we have seen evidenced in other Transjordan figurines.¹²⁵ It seems probable, as Harding has pointed out,¹²⁶ that the arms now broken off were originally crossed in front, with a round or ovoid object clutched in the hands as is the case with the various other figurines of goddesses from Transjordan. The heavy ridges above the eyes give a prehistoric look to the flat-faced, ovoid-shaped head, which is further distinguished by a protruding proboscis, Sumerian in appearance. This figurine, too, to judge from the finds made with it, is to be assigned to EI II.

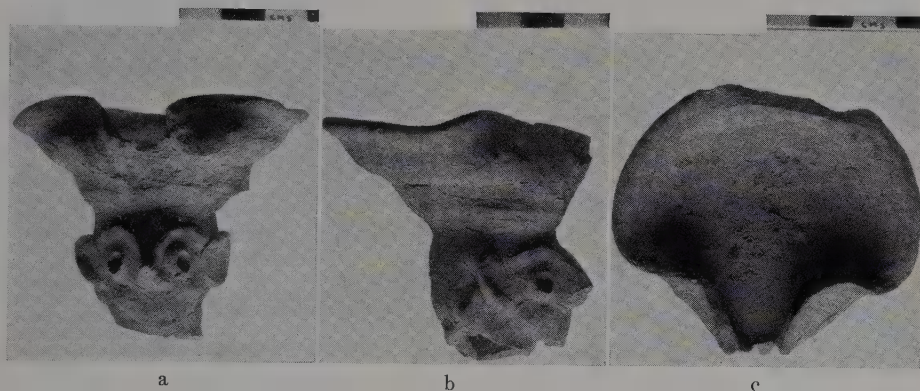


Fig. 20. Head of "lamp-goddess" figurine from 'Ain Shems.

(Courtesy Prof. Elihu Grant and Palestine Archaeological Museum).

About 2.5 km. due south of the modern village of es-Sela', after passing through the cultivated and descending terraced fields of the 'Ard Ramses, we came to the almost completely destroyed, small site of Ramses (33), perched on the edge of a terrace, overlooking the Wādī Sherî'a.¹²⁷ The reason for the particular name of *Ramses*, by which also the surrounding area is known, could not be ascertained. There are to be seen at Ramses the ruins of a small, rectangular, almost completely destroyed building, of which only parts of the n. and e. walls remain. They are built of roughly hewn, rectangular blocks of stone. Within the walls was a heap of fallen building blocks, and piles of small stones cast there by the ploughmen from the adjoining fields. Despite the most careful search, only a small number of worn sherds could be found. Most of them were Byzantine, while some of them were clear EI I-II. The existing ruins seem to be Byzantine in origin, but may well have been built

¹²⁵ ANNUAL XIV, p. 25, fig. 7.

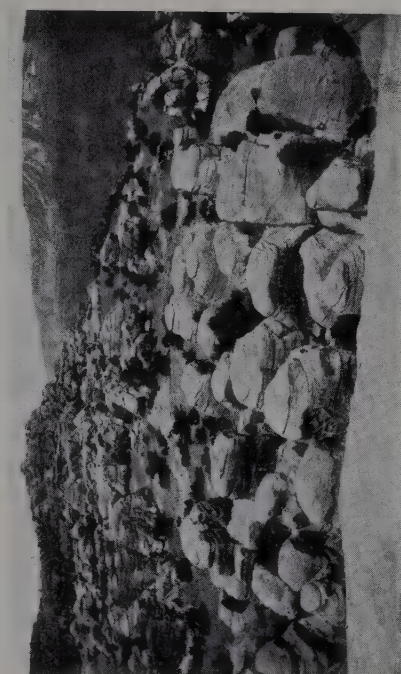
¹²⁶ PEQ 1937, p. 254.

¹²⁷ Nov. 17, 1937.

over the foundations or the site of an earlier building belonging to the Early Iron Age. The large site of Buseirah is visible to the e. s. e.-s. e., about 2 km. away. The surplus products, which the surrounding fields yielded to the Edomite and later Byzantine *fellāhîn*, in their respective periods, were in all probability disposed of in the markets of Bozrah, where there were thriving settlements in both periods, as well as in the Nabataean and Roman periods.

A place somewhat similar to es-Sela' in its location and arrangements for the conservation of water, is Sheikh er-Rîsh (24),¹²⁸ which is about 5 km. s. s. w. of Dâna.¹²⁹ It is even more unapproachable and difficult of access than es-Sela'. A steep and narrow path, which in many places is little more than a goat track, leads to the foot of the split and turreted chain of hills, among which the hill Sheikh er-Rîsh stands like a great mountain fortress (Fig. 21 a). A steep climb part way up the n. e. side of the hill, which is immediately s. e. of Sheikh er-Rîsh, brings one to a narrow ledge which runs along the face of the hill to the point to the northwest, where a great cleft separates it from Sheikh er-Rîsh. The ledge then turns and goes s. w. along the n. w. face of the hill, to the s. w. end of the cleft which separates the two hills. The Wādī el-Ḥammâm runs n. w. below the n. e. side of Sheikh er-Rîsh, to join the Wādī Dâna, which leads to the 'Arabah near Feinân.¹³⁰ We thought we could make out the remains of steps leading from the n. e. to the s. w. end of the *sîq* formed by the great cleft between Sheikh er-Rîsh and the hill on the s. e. side of the *sîq*. From the s. w. end of the *sîq*, one has a view of the rapidly descending hillsides, at first partly covered with a ragged growth of scrub trees, which lead down precipitously to the Ghôr. After reaching the s. w. end of the *sîq* and crossing over to the n. w. side, a steep climb is necessary in order to attain to the summit of Sheikh er-Rîsh. At the bottom of Sheikh er-Rîsh, near the s. w. end, are some ruined foundation walls of hewn sandstone blocks, and a group of low heaps of rubble, which have the appearance of graves. Among and around these ruins, and elsewhere on Sheikh er-Rîsh when we got to the top, we found worn sherds which appear to be early Byzantine of about the 4th century A. D. An intensive search failed to reveal any indubitable Nabataean sherds, although we have reason to believe that Sheikh er-Rîsh was originally Nabataean. A climb through a small cleft in the s. e. wall of Sheikh er-Rîsh above these ruins leads into another *sîq*. It mounts steeply n. n. e. to the top of the hill. On both sides of the *sîq* are what in a definitely Nabataean site would be called Dushara niches, which indeed these may originally have been. There are also five large burial (?) chambers opening into the *sîq* (Fig. 22). These chambers have all approximately the same measurements. One of them, close to the

¹²⁸ June 23, 1937.¹²⁹ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 77-8.¹³⁰ ANNUAL XV, p. 32.



a



c



d

Fig. 21 : a, Sheikh er-Rish in center, lk. s. s. w.; b, Hillocks of Sheikh Sugût below Sheikh er-Rish, lk. w. n. w.; c, Niches on side of hillock on top of Sheikh er-Rish; d, Cistern sunk into small hillock on top of Sheikh er-Rish.

one shown in the photograph, measures on the inside 2 m. wide, 1.70 m. deep, and 1.50 m. high. Its entrance which is still partly walled up with hewn sandstone blocks is one metre wide, and 1.70 m. high. Inside, on either side of the entrance, are two small niches for lamps. Near the top end of the *sîq*,



Fig. 22. Burial chamber on e. s. e. side of *sîq* of Sheikh er-Rîsh.

on its w. n. w. side, is a cistern hewn out of the rock. It may have been enlarged from an originally small cave. The entrance is .90 m. wide and 1.90 m. high. The hewn stones of the door-sill are still in place; a door may at one time have been placed over it. The cistern on the inside measures 3.60 m. long by 2.50 m. wide, and is thickly cemented up to a height of about 1.50 m. At the very top of the *sîq*, on its e. s. e. side, is the most elaborate chamber on the

site. Its entrance measures 1.80 by .40 m. In the e. s. e. rear wall of the chamber, opposite the entrance, is a large niche 1.80 m. high, 1.10 m. wide, and .70 m. deep. Separated by a projecting ridge .35 m. wide to the right of it, is another niche measuring 1.65 by .45 m. On the left of the first niche were some holes sunk into the wall, with a small plastered niche below them. On the n. n. e. side of the chamber is another large niche, measuring 1.60 by 1 by .70 m. There is a window-aperture cut through the wall on the right side of the door-way as one enters. In the side walls are eyelet-like holes, through which evidently cords were once drawn to fasten objects with. The entire chamber is plastered on the inside. There are traces of plaster also in some of the other chambers. One of them showed traces of red paint with black stripes over it on the plaster.

From the top of the *sîq*, one emerges into an open area on top of the hill of Sheikh er-Rîsh, where there are some small hillocks or outspurs, between some of which are additional small streets with burial chambers. Some of the hillocks are pitted with niches (Fig. 21 c). The reader can obtain an idea of the nature of these hillocks from Fig. 21 b, which shows the hillocks called collectively Sheikh Suqût immediately below Sheikh er-Rîsh to the n. w., and the countryside to the n. w.-w. n. w. of it. Both on Sheikh Suqût and below it, one can see the same type of hillocks which are characteristic of the top of the hill of Sheikh er-Rîsh. At Sheikh er-Rîsh these hillocks were utilized, as strange as it may seem, for the purpose of catching and storing water. If there was a reasonably flat area on one of them, a cistern would be sunk into it, with channels cut into the rock to lead the water to it. In the foreground of Fig. 21 d the edge of such a cistern may be seen. One of these cisterns was about 2 m. in diameter, and about 3.5 m. deep. Although it was June 23, 1937 when we visited Sheikh er-Rîsh, long after the spring rains, one of the cisterns still contained a considerable amount of water. The total amount of water conserved thus on the top of Sheikh er-Rîsh must have amounted to many thousands of gallons, which would otherwise have gone completely to waste, as it does today. The amazing ingenuity and skillful resourcefulness of the ancients in southern Transjordan, evidenced especially by the Nabataeans, and to a high degree also by their successors in the Roman and Byzantine periods, made life possible in the most inhospitable areas. By and large, it also testifies to the fact that the pressure of a large, dynamic population was so strong in these periods, that thousands were forced to seek sustenance and shelter in regions where normally but few could, or might care to, find a livelihood. Sheikh er-Rîsh seems primarily, however, to have been a sacred burial place, and only incidentally a place of abode for the living.

Cut into the rock at the bottom of one of the pinnacles on top of Sheikh er-Rîsh may be seen a large niche in front of which originally stood a small building. The foundation walls of the structure, which measures 4 by 3.80 m., are built of thin, hewn, sandstone blocks, and are .65 m. thick (Fig. 23). The building together with the niche may have served the purposes of a small sanctuary. The sherds found by it were Byzantine. It may be that the most important history of the site occurred during the Byzantine period. To judge, however, from the location of the site, the method of approach to it, the skilful



Fig. 23. Ruins of small sanctuary in front of burial (?) chamber at Sheikh er-Rîsh, lk. s. e.

engineering which made living there at all possible, we feel that originally anyway the site was Nabataean, despite the complete absence of distinguishable Nabataean sherds. They could easily all have been washed away from the small level areas and down the precipitous slopes by the torrential winter and spring rains. Our stay at Sheikh er-Rîsh was perforce limited to little more than an hour or so, as the inadequate notes on this site indicate.

On the top of an isolated hill, rising in the middle of the Wādī eṭ-Ṭafīleh, about 6 km. below eṭ-Ṭafīleh, is a formerly walled site called el-Qûsah el-Ḥamrâ¹³¹ (43a). On the way there from eṭ-Ṭafīleh, we stopped at a small, completely destroyed Byzantine site, called Qaṣr eṣ-Ṣerâreh (43), where a small number of Byzantine sherds was found. It is situated on a fairly level

¹³¹ June 22, 1937; *Bulletin* 68, p. 14.

bench of ground above the s. side of the Wādī eṭ-Ṭafīleh. The last half hour's ride before reaching the immediate vicinity of el-Qûsah el-Ḥamrâ was down a zig-zag path along a precipitous slope to a point where it was necessary to dismount and, leaving the horses behind, scramble down on foot to the bottom of the *wādī*. The reddish-brown sandstone hill, which seems to contain some iron ore, stands out starkly from its surroundings. It rises up steeply from the middle of the Wādī eṭ-Ṭafīleh, which splits and surrounds it on all sides, the n. half being called the Wādī eṭ-Ṭafīleh, and the s. half the Wādī el-Qûsah el-Ḥamrâ. There is a steep but clearly marked path which leads up the s. e. slope of the hill to the site proper. In places it is still marked by ancient terracing. From the top one commands an excellent view over much of the e. length of the Wādī eṭ-Ṭafīleh and part of its w. course, before it is lost sight of among the hills which mark the steep descent down to the Ghôr and the s. end of the Dead Sea. The s. part of the Dead Sea is clearly visible from the top of the site. El-Qûsah el-Ḥamrâ was excellently situated to command the tracks leading from the Ghôr to the top of the Edomite plateau, and in particular to the important site of eṭ-Ṭafīleh, which in ancient times both in the Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age must have been occupied, despite the fact that no traces of ancient occupation have thus far been discovered there. Almost all of the fairly flat area on the top of the hill, which slopes somewhat from west to east, was once enclosed by a strong wall, made of hewn blocks of stone, and about 1.50 m. thick. The walls, of which only the bottom course remains, follow the contour of the top of the hill. The north wall is oriented w. s. w. by e. n. e., and is 42 m. long. It then bends around to the s. e. for 36 m. The e. wall is oriented s. s. w. by n. n. e., and is 45 m. long. What appears to be the entrance way is situated 5 m. before the s. end of the wall. There was possibly a small square tower at its n. end. The s. wall is oriented e. s. e. by w. n. w. and is 50 m. long, with apparently a small tower, 3 m. square, at either end. The w. wall is oriented s. by n. for 28 m., before turning to the n. e. for another 29 m., with a small square tower at its n. end. Near the n. e. end of the enclosure are the foundations of a building measuring 10 m. square. A small quantity of EI I-II sherds was found, mostly EI I, and several comparatively late Arabic pieces. Several specimens of iron ore (?) were also picked up. Abdullah Riḥānī Bey first discovered the site, and brought the writer some sherds from there which also were EI I-II.

About 3 km. e. s. e. of eṭ-Ṭafīleh, we visited a fortress called el-Wādât¹³² (38). It is strongly situated on the top of a steep outspur, which was separated from the mainland by an artificial dry moat. The nature of the site, with

¹³² June 21, 1937; *Bulletin* 68, p. 14.

its dry moat, reminds one vividly of some EI sites in southern Transjordan, which the expedition of the A. S. O. R. had previously visited.¹³³ The Wādī el-Wādāt which cuts in from the s. e. nearly encircles the outspur with an almost complete, inverted "u" turn, before bending away to the w. n. w. In addition, a small side *wādī* comes from the s. s. w. in front of the hill of el-Wādāt, and then joins the Wādī el-Wādāt, at the point where it bends away to the w. n. w. On top of the long, narrow outspur, thus almost completely surrounded by adjoining *wudyân*, the ancient site of el-Wādāt is located. It is oriented s. w. by n. e., and measures approximately 220 by 20 m. The entire site is surrounded by a wall made of roughly hewn basalt blocks, with some limestone blocks among them. The outspur on which it is situated is connected only at its s. w. end to the hill behind it, and was artificially separated from it by a dry moat cut through the narrowest width of the outspur near its s. w. end. Guarding the moat at the s. w. end of el-Wādāt is a now completely ruined tower. Behind it to the n. e. stretches a flat, open area, guarded by another tower on a rise near the n. e. end of the site. Beyond this latter tower, is a rectangular, rock-cut shaft tomb (?) measuring 1.80 by 1 m. On the s. w. side of this tower is a tremendous cistern with two large openings. The entrance to the site seems to have been just beyond a third tower at the s. end of the w. n. w. side, from which a path leads down steeply to the *wādī* below. Despite the similarity of the plan of this site to other EI sites in southern Transjordan, no EI sherds could be found. There were numerous Byzantine sherds belonging approximately to the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. All of the EI sherds may have been washed away. The Dead Sea is clearly visible from the top of the site.

The report of the discovery of a statue at Kh. Brâk, above Petra, led us to revisit this site.¹³⁴ It is situated about 3.5 km. s. s. w. of Eljî, on the top of a hill overlooking Wādī Mūsā. A path leads down from it to Petra to the w. n. w. During the Nabataean period especially, the site was a center of intensive cultivation. The waters of the strong spring of 'Ain Brâk irrigated terraced fields, whose produce must have been sold in part to the markets of Petra.¹³⁵ Kh. Brâk, and similar sites, such as Kh. Emûn, Kh. Mu'allaq, Kh. Debeil, Kh. Bedeiweh, and Kh. Debâî,¹³⁶ either directly overlooking or within easy market distance of Petra, must be regarded as garden villages dependent upon the metropolis. They not only helped supply the food-requirements of Petra's large population, but also served as suburban residential centers. While the

¹³³ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 52; XV, pp. 110-11; see below p. 62.

¹³⁴ June 4, 1937; ANNUAL XV, p. 79.

¹³⁵ ANNUAL XV, p. 79.

¹³⁶ ANNUAL XV, p. 79.

report of the existence at Kh. Brâk of a fine piece of statuary could not be confirmed, we were able to see there a number of fine, decorated building stones. They were discovered by the *fellâhîn* who use the existing Nabataean ruins of Kh. Brâk as a convenient quarry. Among these architectural stones are pillar-drums and bases; a door-jamb ornamented with a stylized leaf and flower design, similar to the design on the architrave over the entrance to the inner shrine III of Kh. Tannûr¹³⁷ (Fig. 24); a pilaster-block with the design of a



Fig. 24. Floral ornament from Kh. Brâk.

shield or axe in relief¹³⁸ (Fig. 25); a Nabataean pilaster-capital, with the egg and dart design, and a broken dolphin's head and fins under each of the two end horns of the capital, the middle horn of which is broken off (Fig. 25). The presence of a dolphin in Nabataean art may be expected after the discovery at Kh. et-Tannûr of the "fish-goddess" Atargatis, with two dolphins on her head.¹³⁹ These highly developed architectural pieces may be dated to the late first or early second century A. D.¹⁴⁰ The shield design also occurs at Kh. Tannûr under the end horns of a Nabataean capital which belongs to the second period of the temple there. The fine architectural pieces at Kh. Brâk

¹³⁷ *Bulletin* 65, p. 16, fig. 1.

¹³⁸ Buhlman, *Die Architektur des klassischen Altertums* I, Pl. 11 A, F 4; Petrie, *Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World*, Pl. LIV, X 1-9.

¹³⁹ *Bulletin* 64, p. 1; 65, p. 17; *AJA* XLI (1937), pp. 368: 374.

¹⁴⁰ *Bulletin* 69, p. 13.

testify to the excellence of the Nabataean structure of which they were once a part. One would expect to find such well executed building blocks and sculptures similar to those of Kh. Tannûr also at Petra. With the exception of the mold of the excellently done head of a woman found at Petra by the expedition of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt,¹⁴¹ practically nothing of the kind has been discovered there yet. We are certain that they will still be found at Petra, because it is unthinkable that they should occur in such places as



Fig. 25. Pilaster block (upside down) with shield design;
resting on it pilaster-capital with dolphin's head
under each of end horns, from Kh. Brâk.

Kh. Tannûr, Kh. Dherîh, Qaşr Rabbah, and at Kh. Brâk, which is in the very suburbs of Petra, and not be found in Petra itself.

During the course of the excavations at Kh. Tannûr (54), we revisited the ruins of Kh. edh-Dherîh (49) several times.¹⁴² Numerous decorated architectural stones litter the site, with enough material remaining to make possible a good architectural reconstruction, if the work is taken in hand in time. Fine Corinthian pilaster capitals (Fig. 26 a); numerous building blocks with the leaf and vine design in relief on them (Fig. 26 b); a pilaster cap decorated with the stylized thunderbolt,¹⁴³ and with the egg and dart design (Fig. 26 c); and numerous other decorated building blocks may be seen there. Among

¹⁴¹ AJA XLII, (1938), p. 171; Ellis, *Syro-Egypt* 3, 1938, p. 4.

¹⁴² The last time on Dec. 3, 1937; cf. ANNUAL XV, pp. 101-2.

¹⁴³ *Bulletin* 67, pp. 10-11.

them is a pilaster capital, decorated with the flower, vine, and leaf design, and with the head of a lion in high relief similar in type to the heads of lions found at Kh. et-Tannûr (Fig. 26 d). In view of the finds at Kh. et-Tannûr, we are inclined to date the extensive surface remains of Kh. edh-Dherîh to

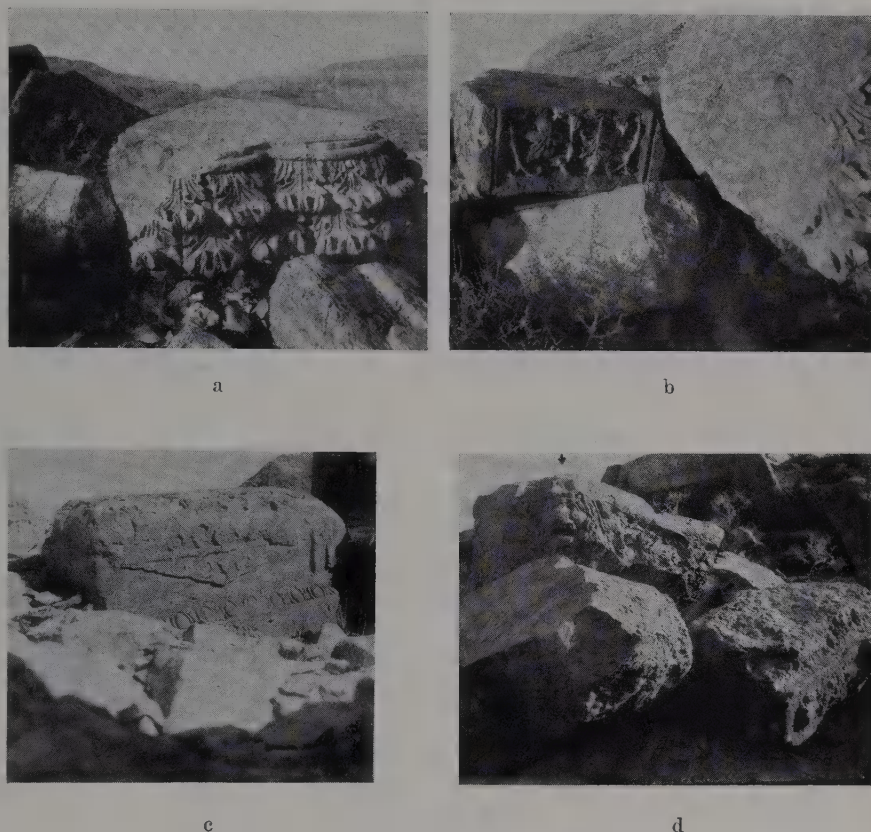


Fig. 26. Decorated stones from Kh. Dherîh.

the third construction period of Kh. Tannûr, which may be dated perhaps to the second quarter of the 2nd century A. D. The edh-Dherîh temple proper is larger than the Tannûr temple, being the center of a very large Nabataean community. The edh-Dherîh temple served local needs; the et-Tannûr temple was a national shrine. Excavations at edh-Dherîh may well, as was the case at et-Tannûr, reveal the presence of several structures belonging to earlier

periods. The Nabataean temples in Transjordan already known form a respectable number. They include those at Petra, and the large temples at Qaṣr Rabbah,¹⁴⁴ Dhât Râs,¹⁴⁵ Kh. et-Tannûr, Kh. edh-Dherîḥ; there is sculptural evidence of temples at Kerak,¹⁴⁶ Mesheirfeh,¹⁴⁷ and Mā'in.¹⁴⁸ There is no question in our mind that others will be found, giving still additional evidence of the extensiveness and intensiveness of the Nabataeans' settlement in Transjordan, and of the highly developed character of the agricultural civilization which they adopted and helped develop particularly between the 1st century B. C. and the 2nd century A. D. We have left a detailed report on Kh. et-Tannûr for a separate publication.¹⁴⁹ The Roman road north from Ṭafīleh follows a fairly straight line on top of the plateau east of the Wādī el-La'abânī. The line of the descent of this road down the s. side of the Wādī el-Ḥesā is marked by several milestones.¹⁵⁰ It ascended the n. side on the line of 'Aineh and Dhât Râs.¹⁵¹

A number of sites was examined in the broken plateau-land north and south of the road which leads s. e. from eṭ-Ṭafīleh to Jurf ed-Derāwīsh. Some of the sites in this area had previously been visited and reported on in ANNUAL XV. This time an effort was made to visit others which for one reason or another we had previously missed. Even so, we did not find it possible to visit all the sites we knew of, or had heard about, but had to rest content with the knowledge that with these two trips, we had succeeded in studying a majority of the ancient sites located in this area. The comparatively fertile stretches in this area are limited practically to the rolling and broken plateau-land between eṭ-Ṭafīleh and eth-Thuwāneh. On the n. side of the eṭ-Ṭafīleh—eth-Thuwāneh road, the more or less cultivable areas extend for only a few kilometres. They are soon cut deeply by the *wudyân*, which lead down steeply to the Wādī el-Ḥesā. Some of the *wudyân*, such as the Wādī La'bân, for instance, are watered in places by strong springs, and are marked therefore by important ancient settlements along their lengths.

About 6 km. e. s. e. of eṭ-Ṭafīleh, on the n. side of the road leading to Jurf

¹⁴⁴ *Bulletin* 67, p. 16.

¹⁴⁵ RB 46, pp. 413. 416; *Bulletin* 69, p. 14.

¹⁴⁶ *Bulletin* 67, p. 16.

¹⁴⁷ *Bulletin* 67, p. 16; 65, p. 19; ANNUAL XIV, p. 38, fig. 16.

¹⁴⁸ Père de Vaux showed me the photograph of a Nabataean pilaster capital, from Mā'in, with a head in place of the center horn, as at Sī', and, as we shall see in a forthcoming excavation-report, at Kh. Tannûr. Cf. RB 47 (1938), pp. 227-58; ANNUAL XIV, p. 33.

¹⁴⁹ See meanwhile *Bulletin* 64, frontispiece; 65, pp. 15-19; 67, pp. 6-16; 69, pp. 7-18; AJA XLI, pp. 361-76.

¹⁵⁰ ANNUAL XV, p. 104.

¹⁵¹ ANNUAL XV, p. 104; ME II: I, pp. 30-2; II: 2, pp. 15-16.

ed-Derāwīsh, is Khān Qillus (42). It is a small, completely destroyed site,¹⁵² situated on top of a hill overlooking the small Wādī Umm Suwāneh, which leads down almost due north to the Wādī La'bān. A few small, modern sheep-folds have been built partly out of, and partly over the foundation ruins of the original buildings there. The vaulted entrance of a building, which was probably originally mediaeval Arabic, is still standing. In front of it is the top of a lava millstone. To judge from the scraps of pottery found, the settlement was founded in the Nabataean period, and continued in existence through the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods. The fields round about the site and on the slopes of the hill are cultivated today, and several small, flat, open spaces close by the site are used as threshing floors.

On top of a hill on the s. side of the road, about 5.5 km. e. s. e. of eṭ-Tafileh, is Kh. el-Frej¹⁵³ (37). It is an extensive, completely ruined site, presenting a confusion of foundation-ruins of walls and houses, with the usual complement of cisterns and cave-cisterns. Numerous Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. The site was once a thriving farm village. About 4.5 km. almost due east of Kh. el-Frej, on the north side of the road, is Rujm el-Mughāmes¹⁵⁴ (41). It is on a rise, in a strongly rolling, cultivated area. It overlooks the Wādī el-Mughāmes below it to the west, which joins the Wādī Umm Suwāneh, which, in turn, runs into the Wādī La'bān, as we have already seen. Rujm el-Mughāmes represents the ruins of a small block-house, 8 m. square, oriented n.-s., and built of roughly hewn flint blocks. The s. e. corner of the building has completely fallen down, and the rest of it is in too ruined a condition to determine from architectural considerations the time of its original construction. It may well go back to the Early Iron Age. A small number of EI I-II sherds was found by it. In addition, there were some Nabataean and Roman sherds. In the distance, to the n. e., Kh. Abū el-'Aẓām, which we were subsequently to visit, was visible, situated on top of a hill commanding a view over the Wādī Qaṭṭār¹⁵⁵ and the Wādī el-Ḥesā. Several kilometres n. w. of Rujm el-Mughāmes we came upon three much worn Roman milestones. They mark the Roman road which ran for part of the distance along the Sūh el-Kafāyeh. Between this point and Rujm Abū el-'Aẓām n. e. of it, we passed a part of the Roman road, and found the base of another Roman milestone. It is part of the great Trajan highway, which in this district led northward from eth-Thuwāneh.¹⁵⁶ It passed by

¹⁵² Sept. 7, 1936; *Bulletin* 65, p. 15; ME II: I, p. 300; II: 2, p. 242.

¹⁵³ *Bulletin* 65, p. 15; ME II: II, pp. 6. 241.

¹⁵⁴ Sept. 8, 1936; *Bulletin* 65, p. 15; ME II: I, p. 300; II: 2, p. 242.

¹⁵⁵ ME II: I, pp. 28. 30. 300.

¹⁵⁶ ANNUAL XIV, p. 81; PA I, pp. 83-6; ZDPV 40, p. 142; Alt, Der südliche Endabschnitt d. römischen Strasse von Bostra nach Aila, ZDPV 59, (1936), pp. 92-111.

Qefeiqef,¹⁵⁷ Abûr,¹⁵⁸ Rujm Mughâmes, and down along the broken plateau east of the Wâdī La'bân. It crossed the Wâdī el-Ḥesâ at 'Aineh,¹⁵⁹ and led then up



Fig. 27. Roman road east of Wâdī La'bân.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

to the top of the plateau past Dhât Râs.¹⁶⁰ Squadron Leader Traill has photographed a section of this road, showing its n. end along the e. side of the top of the Wâdī La'bân leading down to the Wâdī el-Ḥesâ. The line of the road

¹⁵⁷ PA I, p. 86; see below p. 51.

¹⁵⁸ ANNUAL XIV, p. 80.

¹⁵⁹ ANNUAL XIV, p. 81; XV, p. 103.

¹⁶⁰ PA I, pp. 83-5; 61-8; RB 45 (1936), pp. 249-50; 46 (1937), p. 416.

is clearly visible in the air photograph, with one of the watchtowers which mark its length (Fig. 27).

About 6 km. in a straight line east from Kh. edh-Dherîḥ is Rujm Abū el-'Azām (51), overlooking the upper part of the Seil el-Qaṭṭār from the west. Rujm Abū el-'Azām ¹⁶¹ is built on top of a hill strewn with flint blocks, which is situated in a broken and bleak area. From the top of the site the Wādī el-Ḥesā is visible, with the modern road zigzagging down its n. side. This *rujm* represents a large, almost completely destroyed fortress buried within the mass of its own fallen, roughly hewn flint blocks. It is oriented n. w. by s. e., measures 18 m. square at the bottom, and supports an inner tower or platform which is about 10 m. square. The ruins are still about 4.5 m. high. On top of the *rujm* is a modern grave. To which historical period the construction of the site belongs is impossible to say. The few scraps of worn sherds which were found seem to be Roman-Byzantine. The site may have served as a Roman fortress guarding the approaches from the Wādī el-Ḥesā to the north, and from the infertile area to the east, to the fertile area between 'Aineh and eth-Thuwāneh which is crossed by the Roman highway. The possibility must also be considered that this strongly built fortress may be EI in origin.

About 7 km. n. n. e. of eth-Thuwāneh is Qefeifeq ¹⁶² (39). It represents the ruins of a small village in a cultivable area. A number of walls, and the foundations of some ruined houses are visible, as well as the remains of what may originally have been a small reservoir at the s. end of the village. The extant walls are built of rows of flint blocks, with smaller stones between them to make the rows more or less even. The village was divided by a small street, extending approximately e.-w. through it. Several cisterns are visible, and others are probably buried under the ruins. Immediately around the village are some formerly walled garden-areas. The sherds found belong to the Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine periods.

Two km. n. e. of Qefeifeq is Rujm el-Ḥamrā ¹⁶³ (40). It is on top of a hill, almost completely isolated by the Wādī el-Ḥamrā, which nearly encircles it from the south to the n. w. Below the hill, some distance away to the south, we could see in the Wādī Treisā (?) a Roman milestone, marking the Roman highway leading northward from eth-Thuwāneh. To the north, clearly visible from this high point, we could see Rujm Abū el-'Azām. To the s. s. e., across the exceedingly broken *wa'r* country, on top of the highest point of the up-thrusting chain of hills beyond it, there is visible the Edomite border fortress of Ḥālā el-Qarāneh. Rujm el-Ḥamrā represents the ruins of a large fortress,

¹⁶¹ *Bulletin* 65, p. 15; ME II: I, pp. 28. 30.

¹⁶² ME II: I, p. 31.

¹⁶³ ME II: I, p. 31.

which appears to have been circular in form. It is still 4 m. high. The base of the fortress measures about 24 m. in diameter, and is about 2 m. high. It supports a circular tower or platform of about the same height, which is about 8 m. in diameter (Fig. 28). There seems to have been an entrance at the base of the *rujm* on its n. e. side. The top of the *rujm* has been utilized in modern times as a convenient burial place. No clear walls can be discerned under the fallen mass of masonry, but they must be there. The circular shape of the fortress is unusual in this region. The only analogies in Transjordan



Fig. 28. Rujm el-Ḥamrā, lk. e. n. e.

are the EI round towers in the territory of the e. part of South Gilead.¹⁶⁴ Immediately below Rujm el-Ḥamrā to the south is a very small *rujm*, the nature of which is not clear. Rujm el-Ḥamrā is situated in an infertile area, and its primary purpose was to serve as a fortress. A few worn EI I-II sherds, as well as some Nabataean-Roman ones, were found by the site, in addition to one flint blade. In both the Early Iron and the Nabataean-Roman periods, the fortress served to guard the approaches to the fertile area to the west of it, and access to the eth-Thuwāneh-‘Aineh part of the “king’s highway,” or “Trajan’s road,” as this important road was known in two of the periods of history in which it was used. We believe that Rujm el-Ḥamrā was originally constructed in the Early Iron Age, and was reused by the Romans. It was originally a part of the Edomite system of border defence, whose component

¹⁶⁴ *Bulletin* 68, p. 18.

parts were in view of each other for large distances. If we commence with Rujm el-Ḥamrā, from which Ḥālā el-Qarāneh¹⁶⁵ is visible, we find that east and north of eth-Thuwāneh there was an irregular line of border fortresses running down to the Wādī el-Ḥesā. In this line are included Rujm el-Ḥamrā, Rujm Mughāmes, Kh. el-Bākher,¹⁶⁶ Rujm Abū el-'Azām, Rujm Jā'ez,¹⁶⁷ and er-Ruweiḥah.¹⁶⁸ This line does not include all the possible EI sites along this line, because there are several along this line, and a few east of it,¹⁶⁹ which we were still unable to get to.

We revisited eth-Thuwāneh¹⁷⁰ (32) in order to see if we could locate any of the EI ruins whose presence was indicated by the EI sherds we had previously found there. The history of this predominantly Nabataean-Roman city, with its strategic position on the cross-roads of the n.-s. Trajan highway, and the road leading eastward from Buṣeirah, continues into the Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic periods, and goes back, as we have seen, to the Early Iron Age. Sherds from all these periods have been found at eth-Thuwāneh. On the occasion of this second visit we again found some EI I-II sherds. At the e. corner of eth-Thuwāneh, on the n. side of the *wādī* separating the two halves of the site, are the remains of part of an EI building. Only the w. side of the present ruins, however, may be ascribed to the EI period. On this side is to be seen a strongly built, and largely intact *glaçis* placed against it. The roughly hewn flint and lava blocks of the *glaçis* stand out in strong contrast to the well cut blocks of the buildings which have been constructed against and partly over the original EI structure. The n. end of the wall of a late Byzantine or early Arabic building has been built into the s. end of the *glaçis*. This later wall is built of rows of roughly hewn blocks, some of which may have been taken from the EI building, with smaller stones between the rows. The suggestion, however, that the *glaçis* is part of an EI structure must be regarded as a tentative one, until further architectural proof can be adduced. That could be furnished only by excavations.

Southwest of Shôbek (17), we revisited 'Ain Nejel¹⁷¹ (15), because Mr. J. H. Iliffe, Curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, showed us a

¹⁶⁵ See above pp. 24-5.

¹⁶⁶ HUCA XI, p. 143; *Annual* XV, p. 106; some of these sites, such as Kh. el-Bākher, Rujm Abū el-'Azām, and Rujm Jā'ez may also properly be included in the northern border posts of Edom.

¹⁶⁷ *ANNUAL* XV, pp. 102. 106.

¹⁶⁸ See above p. 24, n. 98.

¹⁶⁹ Rujm Selman, el-Fereidiyeh, and 'Alyā between Rujm el-Ḥamrā and Rujm Abū el-'Azām, and el-Ferri and Darghāt east of this line.

¹⁷⁰ Sept. 7, 1936; *ANNUAL* XIV, pp. 80-81; XV, pp. 83. 97.

¹⁷¹ Sept. 9, 1936; *ANNUAL* XIV, p. 76; XV, p. 931.

pushed-up scalloped ledge-handle which can be dated no later than EB IV (Fig. 29), and which he had found there near the police-station. Despite intensive search, we were unable to find any additional EB sherds there, evidently missing the area or the pocket whence the one ledge-handle came. It is interesting to note that a large portion of the population of Shôbek is moving to 'Ain Nejel. A new village is rapidly growing up on the site, because of its strong spring, good fields, and the protection afforded by the new police-station. The new houses are being built of stones conveniently taken from

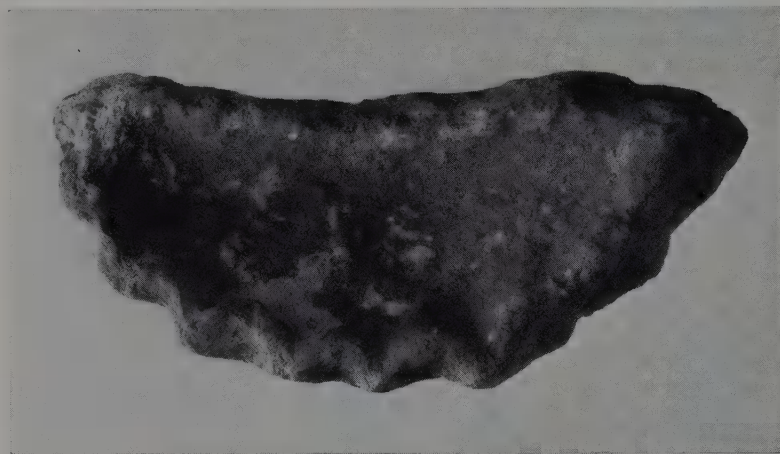


Fig. 29. Pushed-up scalloped ledge-handle from 'Ain Nejel.

(Courtesy Palestine Archaeological Museum).

the Nabataean and Roman ruins there, and in a few years little or nothing of the ancient structures will remain. The sherds on the surface will be buried under thick accumulations of modern debris, and only literary records and the archaeologist's notes will remain to testify to the former existence there of an EB and Nabataean-Roman site. About 13 km. s. s. w. of Shôbek is Kh. 'Arjā¹⁷² (14a), situated on top of a high hill on the e. side of the road which leads from Shôbek to Wâdī Mûsâ. Kh. Meqdes is visible to the west. Kh. 'Arjā is a large, completely destroyed site, with little more than the bare foundations of walls and houses visible. On the e. and n. e. sides of the site are quantities of EI I-II sherds, and there and elsewhere on the site are numerous Nabataean sherds of all types, with the exception of sigillata.

Less than 2 km. to the e. s. e. of Shôbek is a low, flat-topped, rectangular

¹⁷² Sept. 9, 1936; ME II: 2, pp. 234. 236.

mound, called Rujm Menâşir¹⁷³ (16). It is oriented s. w. by n. e., and measures 22 by 12 m. on the top. There seem to have been steps at each of the short ends leading up to the top of the platform. No sherds were found. In general appearance, the site reminds one of Qaşr Ekhwein el-Khâdem and el-Meşeiṭbeh.¹⁷⁴ Quantities of debris have fallen around the mound, so that its bottom outside measurements are considerably more than its measurements on the top. There seems to have been a cistern on the s. e. side. Rujm Menâşir overlooks the Wâdī Shôbek immediately below it to the n. w., and across the *wâdī* to the w. n. w. Shôbek is visible.

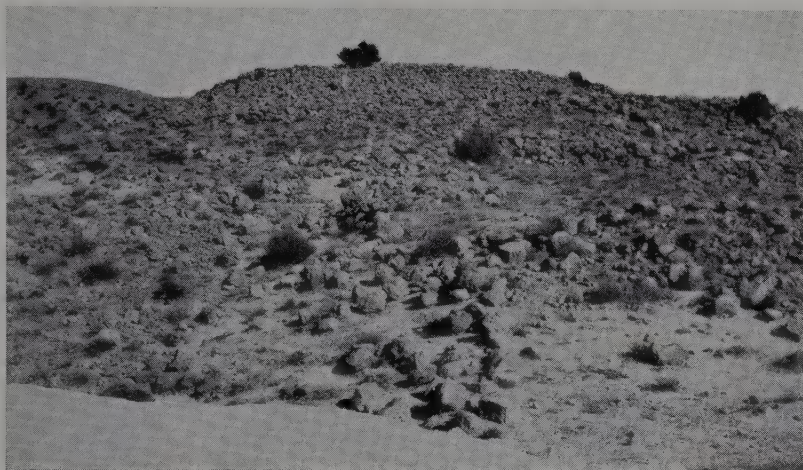


Fig. 30. Kh. Duwâr, lk. e. s. e.

Following the road northward from Shôbek for about 10 km., we left the car, and descended on foot for about 2 km. down the precipitous slope leading from the top of the plateau westward. The slope was thinly wooded with small juniper trees. After about half an hour's walk, we came to a fairly level, sandstone shelf, studded with isolated sandstone knobs, some of them being several metres in height and width. Between some of them, dwarf juniper trees were growing. Near the e. end of this shelf, on top of a hillock rising above it, is a small ruined site, called Kh. Duwâr (25). A juniper tree is growing on top of it (Fig. 30). Kh. Duwâr consists of a heap of small sandstone blocks, for the most part. Its n. and w. walls are still somewhat

¹⁷³ *Bulletin* 65, p. 15.

¹⁷⁴ *ANNUAL* XIV, pp. 40-4; *Bulletin* 65, p. 24.

preserved. The n. wall was once well buttressed by a ramp, part of which is still in place. A similar one evidently once existed on the w. side also. Round about Kh. Duwâr are traces of terraced fields, which are wholly neglected today. Among and around the ruins we found a small number of EI I-II sherds, and also some mediaeval Arabic sherds. The occupation of this site on the comparatively infertile part of the slope leading down westward from the top of the Edomite plateau, is revealing for the intensive settlement of Edom during the Early Iron Age.

From a point west of Kh. et-Tannûr, the lower slopes of the s. side of the Wâdī el-Ḥesā were explored. As a result, much new evidence was gained with regard to the agricultural economy of the Nabataean civilization. Crossing over the Wâdī La'bân, at a point below Kh. et-Tannûr, we came to the small 'Ain en-Nimr,¹⁷⁵ which at the time was practically dry. There are numerous large and small caves on both sides of the *wâdī*, which are inhabited during the spring months by people from the eṭ-Ṭafileh district. About a kilometre above the spring, on a small fairly flat shelf to the s. s. w., on the slope leading up to the top of the broken plateau overlooking the Wâdī el-Ḥesā from the south, we came upon a small, featureless ruin, called Qreiqreh (55). Its bare outlines which can be traced are oriented n. n. e. by s. s. w., and measure 16 by 7 m. No sherds could be found. Below it in the Wâdī el-Ḥesā, at the w. base of Jebel et-Tannûr, at the point where the Wâdī el-Ḥesā makes a n.-s. bend and is joined by the Wâdī La'bân (the lower end of which is known as the Wâdī en-Nimr), is a green, cultivated stretch called 'Arq el-Ḥaureh. Still farther west, down the Wâdī el-Ḥesā, there is visible another green, cultivated area called 'Arq esh-Shuweibîyât.

Descending from el-Qreiqreh westward to the Wâdī eth-Themed, which runs into the Wâdī el-Ḥesā, we crossed the former, and then climbed up the small, precipitous Wâdī 'Ayûn Ghuzlân, from near the point where it joins the Wâdī eth-Themed. On the fairly level stretch above this *wâdī* are the two fairly strong, but exceedingly befouled springs, called 'Ayûn Ghuzlân, which water several cultivated patches of soil. Immediately above the springs to the n. e. is the almost completely destroyed Kh. 'Ayûn Ghuzlân (56). It commands a good view of Kh. et-Tannûr to the e. n. e. The building, which was constructed originally of large, limestone blocks, is oriented n. n. e. by s. s. w., and is in the shape of an irregular rectangle. The n. wall is 20 m. long, the e. wall is 18 m., the s. wall from east to west is 13 m.; then there is an inset measuring 2.20 m., from which the s. wall continues for another 7 m. The w. wall is 15.80 m. long, and is the best preserved one. On the s. side

¹⁷⁵ May 4, 1937.

are remnants of buildings and walls between the *khirbeh* and the springs. There are remnants of walls also beyond the n. side of the *khirbeh*. Numerous Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found. There was also a number of heavy, coarse sherds, which may be comparatively late Arabic. About 75 m. below the *khirbeh*, on the slope leading down northward to the Wādī el-Ḥesā, are several more springs, whose waters once irrigated the stretch of formerly terraced fields below them. That the irrigation system had at one time been important and extensive is evidenced by the numerous, finely cut blocks of stone with channels cut in them, which were lying about below the springs. The stones



Fig. 31. Stones from conduit by Kh. 'Ayūn Ghuzlān.

average about 50 by 30 cm., with the channel 17 cm. wide (Fig. 31). Laid end on end, these stones once formed part of an aqueduct which led the water from the springs to the fields. They had only recently been dug up, and many more parts of this solidly constructed irrigation system, which in all probability goes back to the Nabataean period, are probably buried beneath the surface of the ground. This Nabataean irrigation system, and others similar to it, such as the aqueduct system visible in the vicinity of 'Ain el-Qanah ¹⁷⁶ at the very opposite, s. end of Edom, on the slope leading down from the top of Jebel esh-Shera' to the Wādī el-Ḥismeh, is indicative of how intensive the Nabataean settlement in Transjordan must have been at one time. Proper water conservation at that time made possible the utilization of tracts of land

¹⁷⁶ ANNUAL XV, p. 65.

which today lie fallow. The extensive cultivation of such areas as the slopes of the Wādī el-Ḥesā in the Nabataean period in particular, but also in pre-Nabataean periods, required much effort on the part of industrious settlers, compelled by the pressure of population to wrest a living out of marginal lands.

From Kh. 'Ayūn Ghuzlān we descended n. n. w. to the Wādī el-Ḥesā. Alongside a deep bend in the *wādī*, we passed through the rich, cultivated fields of the 'Arḍ Ṭaiyān, and the 'Arḍ el-Burbeīṭah west of it. Crossing over the Wādī el-Ḥesā to its n. bank, we came upon the ruins of an enclosure about 18 m. square, called Dhela' Qereif (64). The walls made of large boulders are standing to a height only of one course. The area inside the walls is used for a threshing floor today. No sherds were found, and it is probably a comparatively recent construction. In the immediate vicinity, however, the *fellāḥīn* have dug up a number of building stones from buried foundation ruins. The stones look as if they might have belonged to Nabataean or Roman buildings. Recrossing to the s. bank of the Wādī el-Ḥesā, about 150 m. to the west of the point opposite the previously mentioned site, we came to Kh. el-Burbeīṭah (60). It is a large, rudely built, almost completely destroyed structure, which in places is still two courses high. It appears to be circular, but that may be because of the manner in which the debris has fallen around the original foundations. It measures about 15 m. in diameter. Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. Ascending to the s. w., we came less than a kilometre away to Kh. Ḥammām (61). It consists of a group of completely destroyed buildings, on a shelf overlooking the 'Arḍ el-Burbeīṭah. Kh. et-Tannūr is visible to the e. s. e. In the 'Arḍ el-Burbeīṭah is situated the Ḥammām el-Burbeīṭah, whose hot waters are visited by people from el-'Aineh and eṭ-Ṭafīleh. A few fine Nabataean sherds were found by Kh. Ḥammām, and one piece of fine sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type.

Ascending to the s. w. from Kh. el-Ḥammām, we came to 'Ain Qaşrein¹⁷⁷ (59), which waters a large stretch of cultivated, terraced fields. Not far from the spring is a small, completely destroyed site, located at the upper s. w. end of the 'Arḍ Qaşrein. A small number of Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine sherds was found by it. At the lower n. e. corner of the 'Arḍ Qaşrein are the remains of two walls built of large, roughly hewn blocks, meeting to form the corner of a large building, or perhaps only of a terrace. Additional Nabataean-Roman sherds were found there, including a piece of 'Pergamene' sigillata. To the n. n. w., across the Wādī el-Ḥesā, at approximately the same height as 'Arḍ Qaşrein, the green area of the 'Arḍ en-Njājīr is visible on the n. slope of the Wādī el-Ḥesā.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ ME II: 2, p. 243.

¹⁷⁸ *Bulletin* 65, p. 21.

Continuing westward, we came to the Seil el-'Afrā which flows north into the Wādī el-Ḥesā. We followed a track southward along the top of the e. side of the *seil*, past the point of the Ḥammām el-'Afrā at the bottom of the *seil*, until we came to Kh. Ḥedeis¹⁷⁹ (58). It is a small, completely destroyed Nabataean site, situated on a promontory overlooking the point where the small Wādī Ḥedeis coming from the east joins the Seil el-'Afrā. Large quantities of Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found. There were in fact so many sherds, including wasters and tiles, that it seems probable that a kiln existed there. The manufacture of Nabataean pottery on the site probably continued well down into the 2nd century A.D., to judge from the cruder shapes, and painted designs on some of the sherds found there as compared with the earlier and finer types. On the s. slope of the Wādī Ḥedeis, which is really little more than a gash in the hillside, is the fairly strong spring 'Ain Ḥedeis. There is another spring on the slope below the *khirbeh* leading down to the Seil el-'Afrā. Opposite Kh. Ḥedeis, on the w. side of the Seil el-'Afrā, is 'Ain Mliḥan, marked by a green splotch on the scarred slope of the w. side of the *seil*.

Crossing the Seil el-'Afrā, and continuing along the top of the broken plateau overlooking the *seil* from the west, we came to Kh. Baḥlūl (57), which in a general direction is s. s. w. of Kh. Ḥedeis. It is a small, completely destroyed site. Below its e. side is the small Wādī Baḥlūl, which bends into the Seil el-'Afrā. Numerous Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found, including sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type, and sigillata with a reddish core. A small number of EI I-II sherds was also found, showing that the site had been occupied in the Edomite period. Below the site to the s. e. is 'Ain Baḥlūl, and another spring below it on the e. side.

Continuing southwestward for several kilometres we came to Kh. er-Rḥāb (Irḥāb) (63), on the w. side of the Wādī er-Rḥāb, which at this point is shallow and cultivated. The fields are irrigated by the strong 'Ain er-Rḥāb, close by which is the *khirbeh*. It is a small, completely destroyed site, on which a few Nabataean-Roman sherds were found, and many comparatively late Arabic sherds. We followed the Wādī er-Rḥāb northward, and then the Wādī eṣ-Ṣabrah into which it merges. The fertile area ceased soon after the point of convergence of the two *wadyân*. The Wādī eṣ-Ṣabrah took an ever more precipitous course downward towards the Wādī el-Ḥesā. We finally came to the edge of a shelf which faced northward, below which there was a deep drop to another shelf, which in turn marked a step on the way down to the Wādī el-Ḥesā. On this shelf, far below, we could see the meagre ruins

¹⁷⁹ May 5, 1937; ME II: 2, p. 243 (Ḥdedes?).

of Kh. eṣ-Ṣabrah (62). A difficult trail led to the site, below the e. side of which the Wādī eṣ-Ṣabrah continued its headlong descent. Kh. eṣ-Ṣabrah consists of the ruins of a few poorly built houses, constructed of rows of small stones. Nearby were traces of garden walls, which had once enclosed the cultivable areas on the shelf of land on which the *khirbeh* is situated. The only water present at the time of our visit was from a spring on the w. side of the Wādī eṣ-Ṣabrah. Numerous mediaeval Arabic sherds, some of them painted, were found, and a few which may have been Byzantine. The site was ideally situated for some monastic settlement or other, corresponding to the locations of some monastic settlements we had previously visited.¹⁸⁰ It was our intention originally to proceed from Kh. eṣ-Ṣabrah to the bottom of the Wādī el-Ḥesā, and follow the Wādī el-Ḥesā eastward to Kh. et-Tannûr. It was, however, impossible to find a way down which our donkey could negotiate, and so we were compelled to retrace our steps a good part of the way. On the way back, we found traces of a Nabataean-Roman road which seemed to lead from Ḥammâm el-'Afrâ to Qaşrein to Kh. 'Ayûn Ghuzlân, whence it probably led to the ancient main n.-s. highway, which passed below Kh. et-Tannûr.

The "king's highway" ¹⁸¹ which led past Kh. et-Tannûr on the same line as the later Roman highway, descended to the Wādī el-Ḥesā (the River Zered), and then zigzagged obliquely to the top of the Moabite plateau. The boundary line between Moab and Edom in the Early Iron Age was formed by the River Zered. The crossing point in the *wādī* is situated immediately below 'Aineh on its n. side, where there was an important EB site, on whose ruins a large Roman, and probably earlier a considerable Nabataean settlement, had been built. In the Early Iron Age this ford was guarded by a strong fortress, called Kh. el-Medeyineh (177), which is situated on a high, isolated point where the *wādī* makes a short elbow bend, and from which one could command a view of much of the e. and w. halves of the *wādī* and of the approaches to it.¹⁸² Both the new automobile road and the modern track used by the natives when crossing the *wādī* lead to the strong springs of 'Aineh (72), as did the ancient "king's highway." At this point, however, there is a difference between the line chosen by the modern engineers and the ancients. The zigzag line of the new automobile road leads up the steep slope of the Neqb el-Quṣûbah ¹⁸³ on the n. side of the Wādī el-Ḥesā in an e. n. e. direction.

¹⁸⁰ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 59. 60. 90; AJA XXXVII, p. 381, pl. XXXIX: 3.

¹⁸¹ Num. 20, 17; Deut. 2, 27.

¹⁸² HUCA XI, p. 143; ANNUAL XV, pp. 104-5.

¹⁸³ RB 46, (1937), p. 403, fig. 1; *Bulletin* 65, p. 20.

The footpath, however, which follows the line of the ancient highway, ascends to the w. n. w. at a considerably steeper angle than the automobile road. The path climbs the Neqb el-'Akûzeh to a point near the top of the slope, where an almost completely isolated outspur juts out from the ridge leading to the very top of the plateau. Stretched across the route of the path, which perforce must go around it, this outspur which is oriented e.-w., and averages about 15 m. in thickness could not have better served the needs and purposes of a fortress if it had been purposely built. And indeed a very strong fortress was found to have been built on top of it, which, to judge from the almost exclusively EI I-II Moabite sherds of all kinds which were found on and around it, must have been one of the line of fortresses which guarded the s. boundary of Moab.¹⁸⁴ It is called Kh. el-'Akûzeh¹⁸⁵ (78), and strongly dominates the entire steep descent of the Neqb el-'Akûzeh down to the Wādī el-Ḥesā below. Between it and Kh. el-Medeiyineh the Moabite boundary, at the important crossing points between the Neqb el-'Akûzeh and the Neqb Quṣūbah leading to 'Aineh and the top of the Moabite plateau, was well protected. This explains perhaps why the forces of Joram and Jehoshaphat together with their Edomite allies followed the line of the Wādī el-Ḥesā to a point near its e. end, before they even attempted to break into the territory of Moab.¹⁸⁶ At its e. end, the Wādī el-Ḥesā has not yet hewn its way deep into the ground between very high and steep slopes, which an invading army could hardly negotiate if the important crossing points were strongly held; the *wādī* at its e. end is shallow, easily crossed, and consequently more difficult to defend. It was natural therefore that the allied forces attempting to invade Moab should have chosen the circuitous route they did, instead of for instance trying to enter Moab via the King's highway, where the border garrisons had undoubtedly been strengthened to meet the danger. The entire long area of Kh. el-'Akûzeh is walled, the narrow outspur on which it is built being practically inaccessible except on the e. side. There it is connected with the continuation of the ridge of the rest of the slope which rises very steeply to the top of the plateau about twenty minutes climb above it. On this e. side, however, the Moabite engineers cut a deep and wide moat,

¹⁸⁴ HUCA XI, pp. 104-5; see below pp. 88. 242-51.

¹⁸⁵ Sept. 25, 1936; M, pp. 20. 359; RB 46 (1937), p. 403, fig. 1; *Bulletin* 65, p. 20; PA I, p. 106.

¹⁸⁶ II Kings 3; HUCA XI, pp. 149-150; ME II:2, p. 15: "Es wird nie einem wandernden Beduinenstamme einfallen sich den Übergang über die Ḥṣa-Schlucht zu erzwingen, da die Pässe naḵb el-'Akûza und naḵb Kṣuba am rechten Ufer von el-Ḥṣa sehr leicht, und zwar sogar mit Steinen zu verteidigen sind. Auch werden niemals die Ackerbau treibenden Stämme am rechten Ufer von el-Ḥṣa im Frühjahr oder im Frühsommer einen wandernden Beduinenstamm durchlassen. . . ."

thus completely isolating the spur on which the fortress is built. A ruined watchtower stands over the moat at the e. end of the fortress, guarding the ruins of the gateway, with its winding entrance, at the n. e. corner. The tower is oriented n.-s., and measures about 13 by 10 m. The s. wall of the fortified top of the hill measures about 225 m., while the n. wall which bends at its e. end to allow for the entrance way and natural contours of the hill measures about 240 m. About 55 m. from the e. end of the site, abutting against the n. wall is another ruined tower measuring about 10 m. square. There are traces of ruins of another tower at the w. end of the hill, which narrows from an average width of about 15 m. to less than 12 m. at this point. Between the towers were considerable open spaces, with traces of walls of a few houses. In this area the sheep and goats belonging to the inhabitants of Kh. el-'Akûzeh and to the families of the garrison must have been kept during the night. The entire plan of the fortress with its moat cutting off the outspur from the hill with which it was originally connected, the tower overlooking the artificial dry moat, and the open spaces between it and the other towers, and the long, narrow, walled-in area of the entire fortress, remind one of similar fortification plans characteristic of a number of other EI fortresses in Moab and elsewhere, built purposely on comparable sites.¹⁸⁷ The narrow top and steep sides of the fortress made the finding of an adequate collection of sherds difficult, because the rains during the course of the centuries which had elapsed since the site was abandoned had washed most of them away. It was nevertheless possible, as already noted, to find representative sherds of all types belonging clearly to Moabite pottery of the Early Iron Age. In addition a small number of Nabataean sherds was found, indicative of the fact that there may have been a small Nabataean settlement there at one time. It will be seen also that much of the n. slope of the Wādī el-Ḥesā was intensively occupied in the Nabataean as well as in earlier periods.¹⁸⁸ We chanced upon an Umayyad coin of the 8th century A. D., which some wayfarer had dropped perhaps while resting at Kh. el-'Akûzeh. There were no sherds or anything else at Kh. el-'Akûzeh to indicate the presence of even a squatter's settlement there in the 8th century A. D.

While the EI "king's highway" led up to the top of the Moabite plateau from the Wādī el-Ḥesā and 'Aineh via Kh. el-'Akûzeh, the Roman highway paralleled more or less the new automobile road; and from 'Aineh it ascended the Neqb el-Quşūbah to the top of the Moabite plateau.¹⁸⁹ It leads on in a clearly marked line, visible in many places with some of its original paving,

¹⁸⁷ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 52-3; XV, p. 110; see above, discussion of el-Wādāt, p. 44.

¹⁸⁸ See above pp. 56-60.

¹⁸⁹ M, pp. 20-1.

from Dhât Râs near the s. end of the plateau to er-Rabbah,¹⁹⁰ Dhîbân, Mâdebâ, Philadelphia ('Ammân), finally to its northern terminus in Syria, having started at Aila.¹⁹¹ At the very top of the s. end of the Moabite plateau, on the e. side of the modern road at the point where it begins the descent down the Neqb el-Quşûbah to 'Aineh and the Wâdî el-Ḥesâ, is Kh. esh-Sheqeirah¹⁹² (74). It is a small, completely destroyed Nabataean site, built on a low rise, and marked by several cave-cisterns, which are extensively employed in Nabataean settlements. There is a modern house standing among the ruins, half of which is built of large flint blocks taken from walls of the Nabataean buildings. Numerous Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found. A short distance removed from Kh. esh-Sheqeirah is Kh. el-Quşûbah (75) on the w. side of the road, which at this point is probably identical with the line of the Roman road. Kh. el-Quşûbah¹⁹³ is also built on a rise, and evidently consists of a completely filled-in and covered-over *khân*, of rectangular shape. Between it and the road are the remains of a large *birkeh*, in which at one time a considerable amount of water must have been stored, and which apparently without considerable effort could again be restored to its original use. A small number of Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine sherds was found, including a small terracotta bull's head, which, according to Prof. C. S. Fisher, is similar to those found in a cave near Jerash by the joint expedition of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, and the Yale University. The Jerash figures are still unpublished. The bull's head may be late Roman in type, or Byzantine. About 2.5 km. to the n. n. w. of Kh. el-Quşûbah there is visible on an eminence the great Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine site of Dhât Râs.

Dhât Râs¹⁹⁴ (76) is one of the largest Nabataean sites in Transjordan. Situated at a higher point on a rise than is apparent when one passes by on the road immediately below it to the west,—it is 1150 m. high—, it dominates the entire s. end of the rich Moabite plateau. Viewed particularly from the s. e. to the n. e. it looms up on the landscape in a commanding position. In all directions, the land slopes away from the position of Dhât Râs, so that it indeed, as its name implies, is the head of the body of the entire southern extent of the Moabite plateau. It is then not surprising that it contains the ruins of three temples to which the inhabitants of the intensively cultivated acres of the fertile Moabite plateau could repair on religious occasions. The size of the much ruined town, and the presence of the three temples which

¹⁹⁰ ANNUAL XIV, p. 62.

¹⁹¹ ANNUAL XV, p. 71, n. 190.

¹⁹² Sept. 22, 1936; *Bulletin* 65, p. 20; RB 45 (1936), p. 251; M, p. 321.

¹⁹³ *Bulletin* 65, p. 20; ME II: 2, p. 15; M, pp. 201. 321.

¹⁹⁴ M, pp. 20-2. 76. 322; PA I, pp. 61-9.

belonged originally to the Nabataean period, testify also to the highly developed character of the agricultural civilization of the Nabataeans, and to the intensiveness of their settlement in southern Moab.¹⁹⁵ The small temple at the



Fig. 32. Nabataean temple-ruins at Dhât Râs.

s. e. side of Dhât Râs is fairly well preserved (Fig. 32 a, b), but the other temples have been almost completely destroyed by constant quarrying operations going on among their ruins for stones to build the miserable houses that characterize the small modern village on the site, and the neighboring vil-

¹⁹⁵ *Bulletin* 65, p. 21; 69, pp. 9-10; RB 45 (1936), p. 473.

lages¹⁹⁶ (Fig. 32 c, lk. north at the remnants of the e. side of the gate of one of the temples,¹⁹⁷ which has a triglyph and metope ornamentation;¹⁹⁸ Fig. 32 d, lk. west at remnant of w. wall of a temple in Dhât Râs, with engaged columns, which crowns the highest point in Dhât Râs, and which is visible from a considerable distance, especially from the east to the north-east).¹⁹⁹ Numerous rock-cut, pear-shaped cisterns, many of them on the n. w. slope of Dhât Râs, provided water for the site. Large numbers of Nabataean sherds were found, which must represent the Roman as well as the Nabataean periods. There were also Byzantine sherds, testifying to the occupation of Dhât Râs in that period. Savignac reports the presence of two enormous Byzantine capitals which make the appearance of having originated from a monumental church. They were found in the two easternmost houses of the village of Dhât Râs.²⁰⁰

The denseness and wealth of the sedentary Nabataean population in southern Transjordan, which engaged intensively and extensively in agricultural pursuits in the fertile highlands and even on the *wâdî* slopes of Moab and Edom, is evidenced by a line of rich temples throughout the length of the land. The temples at Dhât Râs, which may have been devoted to Atargatis in particular, are by no means unique. A few kilometres beyond Dhât Râs on the top of an isolated peak immediately south of the Wâdî el-Ḥesâ is the magnificent shrine of Kh. et-Tannûr, which was devoted to the worship of Hadad and Atargatis. About 6 km. south of Kh. et-Tannûr is another large Nabataean temple in the extensive Nabataean settlement of Kh. edh-Dherîh.²⁰¹ Farther south are the Nabataean sanctuaries at Petra. North of Dhât Râs one may mention in particular the Nabataean temple at Qaşr Rabbah,²⁰² and there is reason to believe that there were Nabataean temples at Kerak,²⁰³ and el-Mesheirfeh.²⁰⁴ It seems certain that evidence of the existence of still other Nabataean temples in southern Transjordan will be discovered in the future, indicating that during the height of their power between the 1st century B. C. and the 2nd century A. D., the gifted Nabataeans were quick to bring thanksgiving offerings in numerous temples for the blessings which were so bountifully theirs. It seems likely that Nabataean temples existed in the large Nabataean towns

¹⁹⁶ For plans of the small temple and photographs of the ruins as they existed in 1896-7, see PA I, pp. 61-9; M, pp. 79-81.

¹⁹⁷ RB 45, (1936), p. 250, fig. 8.

¹⁹⁸ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 63-4, and fig. 24; QDAP VII, 1938, pl. LXXIV.

¹⁹⁹ RB 45, (1936), p. 249.

²⁰⁰ RB 45, (1936), p. 250. Recent excavations at Mā'in point to the existence of a Nabataean temple there also; see n. 148.

²⁰¹ *Bulletin* 69, p. 9.

²⁰³ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 37. 65.

²⁰² ANNUAL XIV, p. 62; see below pp. 107-113.

²⁰⁴ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 37-8.

of Umm el-Walîd,²⁰⁵ Kh. el-Moreighah²⁰⁶ near Kerak, Nakhl,²⁰⁷ and the Kh. el-Moreighah near Ma'ân,²⁰⁸ and, as we shall see below, at Maḥaiy. The goddess to whom Kh. et-Tannûr was in part dedicated, and to whom the temple at Dhât Râs as we have seen may have been devoted, was worshipped also in Qarnaim in northern Transjordan (we read in II Macc. 12, 26 about the temple of Atargatis in Qarnaim²⁰⁹), and in Palestine,²¹⁰ not to speak, of course, of Syria.²¹¹

East of the modern *ṭarîq es-sulṭânî* which leads from between Kh. el-Quşûbah and Kh. esh-Sheqeirah past Dhât Râs to Kerak, and which marks the line both of Trajan's highway and the "king's road," are numerous Nabataean-Roman and EI Moabite sites extending as far as the desert. About 4.5 km. e. n. e. of Kh. esh-Sheqeirah is the small, completely ruined, Nabataean-Roman site of Qefeifeq²¹² (73), in the midst of which a cadastral survey cairn has been erected. Numerous Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found. About 4.5 km. s. s. e. of Qefeifeq is Şeleileh²¹³ (67), past which a track leads through the Seil Şeleileh from the Wādî el-Ḥesâ to Dhât Râs. It consists of a small, rudely built, much ruined building, which is about 7 m. square, with remnants of walls of courtyards around it. A few Nabataean-Roman sherds were found. Some anciently terraced fields are visible in the immediate vicinity of the site, some of which were being freshly ploughed when we visited it. About 2.5 km. to the e. n. e. of Şeleileh is Rujm Ḥajlân (68), which consists of a small, completely destroyed building, with several rude walls of courtyards around it. A few Nabataean-Roman sherds were found. Qaşr Shôkhar is visible to the s. e. The ground near the s. end of the Moabite plateau leading to the Wādî el-Ḥesâ and east of the main n.-s. highway becomes progressively poorer the farther east one goes, which is true of all the land east of the main n.-s. highway through central, southern Transjordan. The pressure of a dense population in the Nabataean and Roman periods, and also in the Byzantine period, could alone have compelled the cultivation of the less fertile areas between the rich parts of the upland plateau and the desert.

²⁰⁵ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 10-12.

²⁰⁷ ANNUAL XIV, p. 66.

²⁰⁶ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 63-5.

²⁰⁸ ANNUAL XV, p. 64.

²⁰⁹ Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.* I, p. 149, n. 21; I Macc. 5, 43; Jubilees 29. 10; Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* II, pp. 413-4; *Bulletin* 65, p. 17.

²¹⁰ Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 14, 45; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* II, 4. 2. 3; Rostovtzeff, *AJA* XXXVII, p. 58; Seyrig, *Syria* XV, pp. 170-1; X, p. 330, n. 3; *Dura-Europos* III, pp. 108, n. 35, 113, n. 70, 71; Albright, *AJSL* Jan. 1925, p. 91, n. 1; *Bulletin* 6, p. 16; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, pp. 266-7; Perdizet, *Syria* XII, pp. 267-73; Pauly-Wissowa IV, cols. 2236. 2241-2.

²¹¹ *Bulletin* 65, p. 19; 67, p. 16.

²¹² M, pp. 80. 82; PA I, p. 69.

²¹³ M, pp. 82. 361.

Where today in this border area one sees attempts to cultivate the soil, they can be ascribed to semi-nomads, who scratch the soil, drop in some seeds, and trust to Providence to produce a crop for them. There is no systematic and extensive cultivation of these areas such as there was particularly in the Nabataean period, when the pressure of population compelled the utilization of all possible cultivable ground. The Nabataeans, who knew how to conserve the rainfall in numerous cisterns and reservoirs, could sustain themselves in semi-arid areas where less energetic and resourceful people would be unable to wrest a livelihood from the soil. About 8.5 km. almost due east of Rujm Ḥajlân, we came to Kh. el-'Enâyeḥ ²¹⁴ (65), which is a small, ruined Nabataean blockhouse. It is oriented e.-w., and measures 6.80 by 6.60 m. Kh. el-'Asker, ²¹⁵ which is n. n. e. of el-'Enâyeḥ and not far from the railway line, was visited, but turned out to be a comparatively modern ruin. Qaṣr Shôkhar ²¹⁶ (or Shôḥar) (66) which is approximately between Şeleileh and el-'Enâyeḥ was revisited, but nothing was found to change our conclusion arrived at on a previous visit that it was a Nabataean watch-tower.

A little more than 9 km. in a straight line e. s. e. of Dhât Râs is the great fortress of Maḥaiy ²¹⁷ (69). The extensive ruins are situated on the fairly flat top of a high hill, oriented n.-s., which is about 500 m. long and from about 125 to 250 m. wide, and whose steep sides gave it an almost impregnable position. The easiest ascent is on the n. w. side, which seems to have been particularly strongly fortified. There are two small rises on the top of the hill, the one near the center, and the other near the s. end. On the first mentioned rise are the remains of a building, which according to Brünnow was a strong watch-tower, and of which he gives a plan. ²¹⁸ In the more than two score years which have elapsed between his and our visits to Maḥaiy, there has been a great amount of destruction of the then more clearly existing ruins to provide stones for the houses of the modern village that nests in them. In the level area north of this structure, several well constructed vaults are still visible, the last remains of the building they once helped support. Almost at the very n. end of the hill-top are the ruins of another building, clear enough at the time of Brünnow's visit to be planned. He considers it to be a temple, and similar in plan to Qaṣr Rabbah. ²¹⁹ Inasmuch as we know definitely now that Qaṣr Rabbah is a Nabataean temple, the likelihood is that this temple at Maḥaiy was also a Nabataean temple. ²²⁰ This is further borne out by the

²¹⁴ M, p. 83; *Bulletin* 65, p. 23.

²¹⁵ M, p. 81.

²¹⁶ Sept. 30, 1936; *Bulletin* 65, p. 25; *ANNUAL* XIV, p. 69.

²¹⁷ Sept. 22, 1936; M, pp. 6. 19. 22. 81-2. 367; PA I, pp. 70-5; *Bulletin* 65, p. 24; 67, p. 24.

²¹⁸ PA I, p. 71, fig. 63.

²¹⁹ PA I, pp. 73-5, fig. 67.

²²⁰ *Bulletin* 67, p. 16.

fact that by the gate of the temple in Maḥaiy, Brünnow found a sculpture in relief, which to judge from the poor photograph he gives, which has evidently been taken upside down, is to be identified with a Helios figure, of a type discovered at Kh. et-Tannûr and not yet published, and at Qaşr Rabbah.²²¹ In addition, large numbers of Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found at Maḥaiy testifying to a considerable Nabataean settlement there, which had its own large temple. It seems certain that every large Nabataean settlement in southern Transjordan had its own temple, in addition to such special sanctuaries as the one at Kh. et-Tannûr which served as a place of worship and pilgrimage for the general public.²²² There was originally a great outer wall surrounding the top of the hill of Maḥaiy, which in all probability goes back to the period of the first major settlement there in the Early Iron Age. There were numerous cisterns, and a *birkeh* on the e. side. In addition to the large quantities of Nabataean-Roman ware mentioned above, which included numerous pieces of creamy-core 'Pergamene' type of sigillata and reddish-core sigillata, there were some sherds which seemed to be early Byzantine in origin. Especially, we were able to record the presence of a number of clear EI I-II Moabite sherds, including both plain and painted varieties. They were found on the s. w. and w. slopes, and also near the s. e. end of the top of the hill. Situated at the very s. e. edge of the fertile area of the s. part of the Moabite plateau, it would indeed have been surprising if the Moabites had not fortified this strong position, and if the Nabataeans, who took over almost entirely the fortification systems of the Moabites and Edomites, had not followed in their footsteps. Commanding a wide and clear view of the desert areas to the east and n. e. of it, Maḥaiy also dominates the entire region to the south of it, almost down to the Wâdī el-Ḥesā, the bottom of which, however, is not visible from it. No large group could invade Moab from the s. e. without coming into the range of view of Maḥaiy. It seems most likely that the allied forces of Jehoshaphat and Joram and the Edomites must either have reduced Maḥaiy or gone around it during their invasion of Moab which carried them to the very walls of Qîr-ḥarešet, were frightened off perhaps by the fearful sacrificing of the crown-prince of Moab on the walls of the city, they finally withdrew.²²³ Indeed, it seems probable that the forces which the Moabites hastily assembled on the n. side of the River Zered (the Wâdī el-Ḥesā) in a vain attempt to stem the invasion of their territory may have been summoned in part from the garrison stationed at Maḥaiy.²²⁴

²²¹ See below pp. 109-110.

²²² See above pp. 65-6.

²²³ HUCA XI, p. 150; II Kings 3, 27.

²²⁴ HUCA XI, p. 150; II Kings 3, 27; Abel, *Géographie* II, pp. 216-217, now considers Maḥaiy to be the site dominating the 'Iyē 'Abarîm on the border of Moab, cf. Numbers

Maḥaiy was the southernmost fortress, and the key fortress, of the line of border strongholds,²²⁵ which, as we shall see below, protected the e. boundary of the Moabite kingdom in the same wise as the continuation of this line of fortresses south of the Wādī el-Ḥesā guarded the e. flank of the Edomite kingdom. It may be possible to discover one more Moabite fortress or post between Maḥaiy and the Wādī el-Ḥesā, somewhere on the slope leading down from the top of the Moabite plateau. During the aerial reconnaissance of southern Transjordan which the writer was enabled to undertake in 1936 together with Squadron Leader Tom Traill through the courtesy of the Air Officer Commanding Palestine and Transjordan, we saw a large, walled site situated on a high isolated knoll near the n. side of the Wādī el-Ḥesā. It was situated approximately half-way between er-Ruweiḥah,²²⁶ the Edomite and Nabataean fortress on the s. side of the *wādī*, and Kh. el-Medeiyineh, the Moabite fortress about 15 km. away to the west on the n. side of the *wādī* below 'Aineh.²²⁷ To judge from the general appearance of this site from the air, it might well date to the Early Bronze and the Early Iron Ages. If this site proves to have had an EI occupation, it will be the most southern link in the chain of border fortresses guarding the e. frontier of the Moabite kingdom, and will be the immediate Moabite counterpart to the Edomite er-Ruweiḥah. At the first possible moment the writer hopes to return to this s.e. corner of Moab to attempt to locate this site from the ground and to determine its character.

About 6 km. n.n.w. of Maḥaiy lies the large, strong, walled fortress enclosure of Meḏeibî' (132), which, as we have previously shown, was occupied during the Early Iron Age, and was taken over subsequently by the Nabataeans, who erected inside of it a second walled enclosure.²²⁸ In addition to its importance as a link in the Nabataean system of defences along the e. frontier of the Nabataean kingdom in southern Transjordan, it is now possible to understand the role that Meḏeibî' played in the arrangements undertaken by the Moabites for the protection of their open e. border. Meḏeibî' was not an isolated EI Moabite fortress in the s.e. corner of Moab, as might have appeared from our report in ANNUAL XV, but an integral link in the carefully worked out chain of fortresses, many of them in sight of each other,

33, 44. While Maḥaiy does dominate the 'Iyē 'Abarîm of the Arnôn below it, we believe the 'Iyē 'Abarîm referred to in Numbers is farther to the west. This idealized account no longer takes into consideration the necessity of the Israelites circumventing Moab and the writer may have in mind the ford and ascent marked by Kh. el-Medeiyineh overlooking the Arnôn (cf. above pp. 60-2; ANNUAL XV, pp. 104-5).

²²⁵ See below pp. 73, 103.

²²⁷ See above p. 60, n. 182.

²²⁶ *Bulletin* 67, p. 24.

²²⁸ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 66-69.

which stretched along the e. frontier of this highly developed kingdom. Situated on a rise, at a height of 1000 m. above sea-level, from which the formerly terraced fields around it slope away, Meḏeibîḥ commands a view of Maḥaiy to the s. s. e. of it, and of el-Mâhrî to the n. n. w. of it, which, as we shall see, is also an important border fortress. Meḏeibîḥ and el-Mâhrî were particularly important as key posts which guarded the access to the rich Moabite plateau from the tracks which led through the broad Fejj el-'Aseiker to the northeast and east below these fortresses.²²⁹



Fig. 33. el-Mâhrî, lk. w. n. w.

A little more than 3 km., n. n. w. of Meḏeibîḥ is the strong EI border fortress called el-Mâhrî²³⁰ (135). Situated on top of a ridge, at 1073 m., it commands a view of Meḏeibîḥ and Maḥaiy to the s. s. e., and of Dhât Râs to the s. w. It is a well built, rectangular structure, measuring 16 by 20.40 m., and is oriented n. e. by s. w. The division of the rooms can be seen inside the building, whose outer walls measure about 1.40 m. thick.²³¹ The rudely hewn building blocks are laid in dry courses, with the corners laid in headers and stretchers.²³² The e. end of the s. e. wall is still 14 courses high, totaling 5 m. (Fig. 33). In front of the n. e. wall is a platform in two stages extending 5.90 m. from the wall. The first stage or step of this platform

²²⁹ M, pp. 6. 367.

²³⁰ Sept. 23, 1936; M, pp. 6. 81. 216. 367; PA I, pp. 76-8.

²³¹ For a ground-plan of el-Mâhrî see PA I, p. 76, fig. 72.

²³² Cf. ANNUAL XIV, pp. 31, fig. 13; 54. 55, fig. 23.

extends 2.35 m. from the w. end to 2 m. at the e. end of the n. e. wall, and is .55 m. above the step of the platform below it, which extends 1.15 m. beyond the e. end of the n. e. wall. Just what function this platform played in the architecture of the building is not clear, and both Brünnow and Musil seem to have ignored it. There are masses of fallen building blocks around the building. Close to it was clustered at one time, evidently, a number of small buildings and enclosures, to judge from the wall foundations in its immediate vicinity. The main building seems from the nature of its construction to belong to the Early Iron Age. There are several large cisterns on the s. w. slope of the ridge below el-Mâhrî. A small quantity of EI I-II sherds was found, in addition to a small number of plain and painted Nabataean sherds. There was also a small quantity of Byzantine sherds of the Umm er-Rašâş type, including some interesting fragments of other types of painted Byzantine ware. (The hard-baked, thin, and frequently painted Byzantine ware, which we call the Umm er-Rašâş ware, was particularly common at the great Byzantine site of Umm er-Rašâş.)²³³ It seems possible that the platform (?) built against the n. e. wall may have been constructed in the Nabataean period.

About half a kilometre to the n. n. w. of el-Mâhrî are the very large foundation stones of a strongly built blockhouse. It is oriented w. s. w. by e. n. e., and measures 15.70 by 13.40 m. The walls measured originally about 2 m. thick. Only one fine Nabataean-Roman sherd could be found. The structure could, however, have originally been an EI Moabite site, similar to el-Mâhrî. The rise on which it is situated has been washed clean of all sherds, except the one we found, and the few which may have escaped our attention. It seems that almost every fairly high point along the border in this district was fortified with a blockhouse or police-post.²³⁴ Below this blockhouse, at the bottom of the slope opposite it to the s. w., are the clear outlines of another *qaşr*, which has been completely demolished. Immediately on the top of the next rise to the n. n. w. of this site, about a quarter of a kilometre away, is yet another ruined blockhouse, so completely destroyed, however, that little could be made out of it. No sherds were found by it to help fix the period of its occupation.

On the top of a rise several kilometres to the n. w. of Meḏeibî' is a small ancient *rujm*, with a cadastral survey cairn on top of it, indicating again how excellently the early settlers chose sites for their fortifications which could be seen from afar, and which necessarily then commanded a wide field of vision. This site is known as Rujm eş-Şîreh, or Şîret el-Heirân²³⁵ (133). The *rujm* seems to be the ruin of a small fort, oriented n. n. e. by s. s. w., and measuring

²³³ ANNUAL XIV, p. 39.

²³⁴ M, p. 367.

²³⁵ M, p. 81; RB 45 (1936), pp. 252. 255.

approximately 10.50 by 9.50 m. A considerable number of plain, burnished, and painted EI Moabite sherds was found by the site, in addition to quantities of Nabataean sherds of all kinds, including several fragments of sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type.²³⁶ The *rujm* seems originally to have been set in the center of a fairly large walled enclosure, in which wall-foundations of houses and pens for sheep or goats are visible. This site too is important as a frontier fort commanding the tracks leading up to the Moabite plateau from the Fejj el-'Aseiker, which it overlooks. The wide Fejj el-'Aseiker could easily have been the way along which the Israelites passed outside the e. Moabite border before they were able to gain access to the Moabite plateau, somewhere along its n. e. edge.²³⁷

A short distance west of Rujm el-Mâhrî is Qaşr Nâşer (136), situated on a rise overlooking the small *wâdî* between the two sites. It is a much destroyed building, measuring about 13.50 m. square, and oriented s. w. by n. e. There is a wing on the s. e. side, which measures 9.50 by 7 m. The walls of the building, which are made of large flint blocks, are 1.30 m. thick. A considerable number of EI I-II sherds was found, and also a small quantity of Nabataean-Roman sherds. About a kilometre to the w. n. w. are the foundation ruins of another *qaşr*, with Nabataean sherds around it. To the n. w. of it, about a kilometre removed, is a much destroyed site, called Rujm Nâşer (137). It consists of several completely demolished, and at times evidently partly rebuilt buildings, of which little more is left now than a confusion of walls and fallen debris. A small number of EI I-II Moabite sherds was found by it, including several plain and painted Nabataean sherds, and several fragments of Nabataean lamps, some fragments of Byzantine ware of the 4th to the 5th centuries A. D., and some painted and glazed mediaeval Arabic ware. On almost every rise in the entire district, there seem to be the ruins of a large or small watch-tower or police post. Inasmuch as many of them, as it has been seen, go back to the Early Iron Age, it will be realized how well the e. frontier of the Moabite kingdom was guarded.

Several kilometres n. e.-e. n. e. of Meḏeibî' is Rujm Khushm eṣ-Şîreh (134), for which we were also given the name of Rujm Mehbes. It is a large, ruined fortress on top of a hill, commanding an excellent view across the approaches from the Fejj el-'Aseiker. Rujm el-Mâhrî is visible to the n. w., Meḏeibî' to the s. s. w., and Maḥaiy in the distance to the south. The very strongly built fortress is oriented e. s. e.-s. e. by w. n. w.-n. w., and measures 32 by 23 m. The walls appear to be 1.50 m. thick, and are built of large, rudely

²³⁶ *Bulletin* 65, pp. 10-1; Comfort, Supplementary Sigillata Signatures in the Near East, JAOS 58, p. 33; Iliffe, Sigillata Wares in the Near East, QDAP VI, p. 7.

²³⁷ Judges 11, 18; *Bulletin* 65, p. 24.

hewn flint blocks. Originally a strong glacis was built against the walls further to strengthen them, a part of it being particularly well preserved at the n. corner. Inside the fortress is a mass of fallen building blocks and debris, which has been dug into to provide sepulchres for the recent dead. Indeed, it is a general characteristic of all these sites, that they furnish apparently desirable locations for burials by the nomads and semi-nomads who on occasion frequent this neighborhood. In the winter and spring time, when, with the advent of the rains, even the most apparently arid wastes are covered in an amazingly short time with a delicate carpet of green, flocks are driven out to these regions to graze. After a strong rain, one can almost see the delicate green blades pushing their way through the hard crust that has hidden their seeds, and for a short period they hide the burnt-out harshness of the sun-baked areas. The water that is caught in some of the depressions and *wudyan* suffices to quench the daily thirst of the flocks, until the last bit of green has been nibbled down to its roots, and the abandoned areas return to their glaring desolateness. Water for the garrison of Rujm Khushm eş-Şîreh was obtained from three large cave-cisterns on the n. e. slope. In view of its general position, its relationship to such sites as Maḥaiy and Meḍeibî', and el-Mâhrî, the strong nature of its construction, with the addition of glacis which in Transjordan is to be found only in connection with EI sites,²³⁸ one could identify this site even without pottery evidence as another one of the chain of EI fortresses along the e. border of the Moabite kingdom. A small quantity of EI I-II sherds was found, mainly on the n. e. slope, and also a small number of Nabataean and early Byzantine sherds. Next to Maḥaiy and Meḍeibî' it is the strongest of the border posts that have been dealt with in this region, and occupies an important key position. It will be seen by comparing the map, that there is a well planned line of frontier fortresses along the s. part of the e. border of Moab. They include then Maḥaiy, Meḍeibî', Rujm Khushm eş-Şîreh, eş-Şîreh, el-Mâhrî, Qaşr Nâşer, and Rujm Nâşer. On the same line farther north are Qaşr Abū el-Kharaq, Qaşr el-'Âl, and Kh. el-Medeiyineh immediately overlooking the Wādī el-Môjib from the south. Continuing the line then north of the Wādī el-Môjib, we list the e. frontier posts which, in addition to Kh. el-Medeiyineh, we have previously visited and described, namely Sâliyah, Jemeil, Kh. el-Medeiyineh in the Wādī eth-Themed, Qaşr ez-Za'ferân II, Kh. el-Herî, and Zobâyer el-Qaştal.²³⁹ On all of these Moabite border fortresses there were Nabataean sherds in addition to EI I-II sherds. In view of the discovery of these border fortresses, as well as those along the s. border of Moab overlooking the Wādī el-Ḥesā, it becomes necessary some-

²³⁸ ANNUAL XV, p. 61.

²³⁹ For these sites cf. index in ANNUAL XV; cf. *Bulletin* 65, p. 24.

what to revise our conception of the nature of the Moabite kingdom. It was much more strongly fortified than we had previously suspected, standing not behind the highly developed Edomite kingdom in this respect. Indeed the e. line of Moabite defences may be said to represent the continuation of the e. line of defences of the kingdom of Edôm. It will be seen furthermore later on in this study, that the same line of defences continues north of Moab into 'Ammôn. In a word, the necessity of protecting the e. frontier of Edom, Moab, and 'Ammôn, compelled the construction of a line of defences along the e. border of each of these countries, which for all intents and purposes might just as well have been constructed by one central authority. The fear of invasion from the desert regions to the east was common to all of the political entities that occupied the fertile sections of the Transjordan plateau lands, to which the Bedū always looked longingly, and into which the Bedū always raided as soon as the central political authority weakened and could no longer hold them in check. During one of the turbulent years of the early twenties of this century in Transjordan, when the central government was still in the process of organization, history repeated itself in the form of a large group of several thousand nomads, which swept through all of southern Transjordan and arrived at striking distance of 'Ammân, before being driven back by the bombs of a squadron of airplanes.²⁴⁰ The governments of Edom and Moab and 'Ammôn, as well as the highly organized Nabataean kingdom in the s. part of Transjordan, which in turn ruled over most of the territories of the former kingdoms of Edom and Moab, had much reason strongly to fortify their frontiers against the ever onward pressing inhabitants of the hungry desert. Indeed, these peoples themselves in the beginning of their histories in Transjordan must be considered as representative of the very forces they later on feared and sought to hold in check. Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Israelites, were all nomadic or semi-nomadic groups that swept into the territories of the Sown (which they were later on to occupy and develop in the form of highly organized kingdoms), when a central political force was absent to hold them back. The Israelites were able to drive their way into Palestine because of this factor. Just what force prevented the development of a highly developed agricultural civilization in much of Transjordan before the Early Iron Age, in the interval between then and the end of the first part of the Middle Bronze Age is not yet known. The Nabataeans, however, were able to press into southern Transjordan from Arabia because of the fact that the Edomites and Moabites had become so weak by about the 5th century B. C. that they could no longer stem the very floods they had so laboriously attempted to prevent

²⁴⁰ Oral communication.

with the fortresses at the danger points. When in the course of a few centuries the Nabataeans passed swiftly from a nomadic to an exceedingly highly advanced stage of agricultural civilization, they in turn were as much concerned with closing their eastern border in the former territories of Moab and Edom against the Bedū, as their predecessors before them had been. In fact, they took over *en bloc* the entire defensive system that had been worked out before them, and added to it in order to strengthen it. The survey of ancient history in the part of the world we are concerned with reveals the acuteness of the danger that the settled populations of Palestine and particularly Transjordan had constantly to cope with. Indeed, strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true particularly for the history of Transjordan, that the apparently weak are the really strong, and that in the long run the Bedū become the masters of the land. It is against them today that the mandatory government of Emir Abdullah in Transjordan has with the help and under the control of British officers constructed a long line of border posts that stretches along the entire length of the eastern frontier of Transjordan from Mafraq to Kilwa. And it seems safe to conclude that the descendants of the Bedū who occasionally pitch their tents by the barbed wire entanglements surrounding these border posts, will yet bury their dead in the ruins of these structures which today stand so solidly against them.²⁴¹ In each period of sedentary occupation of Transjordan, the peaceful pursuit of agriculture and commercial and industrial life is possible only behind a wall of border fortresses.

On the next rise above Rujm Khushm eṣ-Şīreh, about a quarter of a kilometre distant to the w. n. w., is a small, ruined site, which apparently at one time was partly rebuilt. On its s. w. slope is a large *bir*, which at the time of our visit still had water in it, someone having recently dug a new channel down the slope leading to it.²⁴² Numerous tracks can be seen leading to this renovated cistern, which evidently possesses considerable antiquity, being one of the few of many similar cisterns at ancient sites which could very well be cleaned out and reused. A small number of Nabataean sherds was found at this site, including one piece of sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type, as well as several painted and glazed mediaeval Arabic sherds.

In order to see again whether or not any EI I-II sites existed east of the line of Moabite fortresses we have referred to above, we crossed the Wādī Fejj al-'Aseiker to the range of hills bending along its e. side. On the way over we revisited Qaṣr Ekhwein el-Khâdem ²⁴³ (143) near the e. side of the *wādī*, but again failed to find even any Nabataean sherds. However, on the range of

²⁴¹ AJA XXXVII, pp. 382. 528, Pl. XXXIX: 3.

²⁴² Sept. 24, 1936.

²⁴³ RB 45 (1936), pp. 252-4; ANNUAL XIV, pp. 40-4; *Bulletin* 65, p. 24.

hills facing the e. side of the Fejj el-'Aseiker, and above the site of Qaşr Ekhwein el-Khâdem, we found a number of small, isolated, stone-built burial chambers or tombs, by some of which Nabataean sherds were found. The discovery of these tombs, which seem to have centered on Qaşr Ekhwein el-Khâdem, strengthens our belief that Qaşr Ekhwein el-Khâdem, and similar sites which we have previously described, served as burial places for important personages, and that in connection with them there was practiced a sort of cult of the dead.²⁴⁴ On top of the range of hills which bends around the e. side of the Fejj el-'Aseiker (and at the bottom of the n. w. slope of which



Fig. 34. Qeşeir 'Amrah, lk. w.

Qaşr Ekhwein el-Khâdem is located), is one of these small, box-like tombs. It is called Qeşeir 'Amrah (142), and is s. s. e. of Qaşr Ekhwein el-Khâdem. Meḏeibîr is visible to the s. w., and Maḥaiy in the distance to the s. s. w. The small tomb is oriented n.-n. n. e. by w.-w. n. w., and is 3.80 m. square. It is preserved in places to a height of 5 courses, and must originally have been at least several courses higher, to judge from the fallen building blocks by its side. The inside of the small structure was filled up with debris (Fig. 34). Several fine, painted Nabataean sherds were found, in addition to some which could have been Nabataean or Roman, and one glazed mediaeval Arabic sherd. S. s. w. of Qeşeir 'Amrah on a small rise in the Fejj el-'Aseiker is a small, completely ruined site, called el-Baḥai (?) (141). There were numerous Naba-

²⁴⁴ *Bulletin* 65, p. 24, n. 62; *RB* 45 (1936), pp. 253-4; *QDAP* VI: 1, p. 13, n. 2.

taean-Roman sherds, including one piece of sigillata, and some late painted Arabic ware. Returning to the range of hills on which Qeṣeir 'Amrah is located, and following the main ridge to the e. s. e. and south as it bends around in the horse-shoe curve, we found a number of completely destroyed small tombs. Evidently the entire top of the ridge near Qaṣr Ekhwein el-Khâdem had served as a burial area for more important personages, because it is hardly to be imagined that any others would have had special structures erected for their remains. Thus Qaṣr Ekhwein el-Khâdem must have been the last resting place of perhaps a ruling prince, or some other very important person. One of these small tombs to the s. e. of Qeṣeir 'Amrah is called Qeṣeir Bîr ez-Zeit (I) (139). It is about 3 m. square, is still 1.40 m. high, and may originally have been somewhat higher. Enough is left of the roof of this small tomb to indicate how it was originally built. Four long, rudely hewn blocks were set diagonally across the angles of the corners of the chamber, with two cross beams over them paralleling the n. and s. walls, and then shorter beams resting on these two and paralleling the e. and w. walls, and closing the roof. A few worn Nabataean-Roman sherds were found by this small ruin. About 200 m. to the s. s. e. is another ruined structure, perhaps a watch-tower rather than a tomb, which we called Qeṣeir Bîr Zeit II (140). It is about 4.20 m. square, is still in places 2.10 m. high, but is generally in a more ruinous condition than the first mentioned Qeṣeir Bîr Zeit. Below it to the s. w., at the foot of the hill, are the remains of a dam in a small *wâdî*, which during the rainy season deflected the waters that coursed down it into a large cave-cistern. This small *wâdî* leads into the *Wâdî Zeit*, in itself quite small, where there is another dam, which again served to deflect the water into a huge cave-cistern. An opening cut into the rock above the cave-cistern enabled the shepherds, or whoever used it, to draw out water. Between these two cisterns there are remains of several others. The importance of the cisterns is further evidenced by the presence near them of long stone watering troughs, one of them near the first mentioned cistern being 3.20 m. long, and another by it 3.70 m. long, averaging about 60 cm. in width. No sherds were found by these cisterns, but to judge from our general experience with Nabataean sites in Transjordan, they reflect the workmanship, ingenuity, and industriousness of the Nabataeans, aside from the fact that they probably have some relationship to the Nabataean tombs on the ridge above them. The skill and ability to catch enough water during a short period to satisfy the needs of shepherds and their flocks for a considerable number of months during the dry season were possessed by the Nabataeans to a greater degree than any group that preceded or followed them. We are reminded for instance of the dam at Rekhemtein in the *Wâdî Ramm*,²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ ANNUAL XV, pp. 56-7.

and of the cisterns cut out on the top of the pinnacles at Sheikh er-Rîsh.²⁴⁶ One need reflect but a moment on the remarkable ingenuity evidenced by the Nabataeans in their water-works at Petra and el-Bâred,²⁴⁷ in order to be impressed anew by the fact that because of their extremely high development in the science of water-engineering the Nabataeans were able to maintain themselves even in desert areas, where otherwise no life of any kind whatsoever would be possible during the dry season of the year. At Qaşr Ekhwein el-Khâdem,²⁴⁸ elaborate arrangements were made in order to supply the visitors to the site with water.

N. n. e. of Qaşr Ekhwein el-Khâdem, we came upon a small site, which may be a tomb, or a watch-tower, called Qeşeir Yâbes (146). It is about 3.80 m. square. Only a few indistinguishable sherds were found by it. About 6 km. west of Menzil on the railway line, is a small ruin, which has the appearance of a raised platform-like structure, with steps leading up to the top of it on the s. e. side. It is called Meqta' el-Jabû' (138). The resemblance of this site to Qaşr Ekhwein el-Khâdem is heightened by the presence of several long stone watering troughs by the side of it. Nearby, to the s. e., is also a *birkeh*, made out of a large cave, the top of which had fallen in. Whether or not this place was used for the same purpose that Qaşr Ekhwein el-Khâdem was devoted to, is hard to say with certainty, but it seems much more likely to have been used for that purpose than for anything else. No sherds could be found to help fix the time of the occupation of the site, which, however, appears to belong to the Nabataean period.

We returned in vain to Qaşr Abū Rukbeh²⁴⁹ (144) which we had visited on a previous expedition,²⁵⁰ even as we reexamined Qaşr Shôkhar,²⁵¹ which is s. e. of Maḥaiy, in order to see if we could find any new data to change the conclusion previously arrived at, that both of these places were Nabataean. Qaşr Abū Rukbeh is several kilometres n. e. of Qaşr No'mân, and is e. s. e. of Qeşeir Yâbes. It was, however, possible this time to visit a nearby site, which we had been unable, because of lack of time, to get to during the previous visit. Less than a kilometre away to the n. n. w., situated on a knoll which overlooks Qaşr Abū Rukbeh, is a much ruined structure, which is called Kh. Abū Rukbeh²⁵² (145). It commands a view not only over Qaşr Abū Rukbeh, but also of Qaşr No'mân, to the s. s. w. It is oriented w.-w. n. w by e.-e. s. e. and

²⁴⁶ See above pp. 41-2.

²⁴⁷ ANNUAL XV, pp. 86-7; Dalman, *Petra u. s. Felsheiligtümer*, pp. 347-53.

²⁴⁸ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 43-4.

²⁴⁹ Sept. 29, 1936.

²⁵⁰ ANNUAL XIV, p. 71; *Bulletin* 65, p. 25.

²⁵¹ ANNUAL XIV, p. 69; *Bulletin* 65, p. 25.

²⁵² Sept. 30, 1936.

measures 9.60 by 8.40 m. There is an entrance on the s. side, with an offset extending 3.30 m. to the w. wall from the w. side of the entrance, and jutting out 1.20 m. from the rest of the s. wall. The doorway is one metre wide, and at the present time, measuring from the debris which partly covers the bottom of the doorway, is 1.30 m. high. It must be nearly 2 m. high in reality, but the debris covering the bottom of it will have to be removed before an accurate measurement can be taken. Nabataean sherds of all kinds, including sigillata, were found among and around the ruined structure, the inside of which is littered with fallen building blocks. The occupation of the site probably extended into the Roman period, to judge from the character of a number of the sherds. Continuing south, and to the east of the line of Moabite fortresses, and the line of Nabataean sites east of them on the top of the range of hills on the e. side of the Fejj el-'Aseiker, we came upon a small, completely destroyed tower, with only the foundation stones visible, and a small *rujm*, perhaps the stones over a grave, in the center. We were told that its name is Rujm Shôkhar (70), but there is reason to doubt whether that is correct. It is oriented n. n. e. by s. s. w., and is 6 m. square. A few Nabataean sherds were found by it. It will be seen then from the foregoing discussion of the sites in s. e. Moab east of the main n.-s. highway that extends north from between el-Qusûbah and esh-Sheqeirah, that the Moabite sites on the e. frontier of the Moabite kingdom represent the easternmost outposts at the extreme edge of the fertile areas of the Moabite plateau. The Nabataeans, however, were able to push their sites still farther out into the desert, first of all because there was a greater pressure of population compelling them to do so, secondly because they understood better than the Edomites and Moabites who preceded them how to conserve supplies of water, and thirdly, because their spheres of interest extended much farther to the east, in connection with the trade-route that probably led past Kilwa to Bâyr Wells and north to Syria, perhaps via Mafrâq.²⁵³ The main Nabataean highway in the extreme east of the Transjordan desert led, however, from Arabia through the Wâdî Sirhân to southern Syria, where the Nabataeans established a second part of the kingdom. Nevertheless, the most intensively settled section of the Nabataean kingdom seems to have been in southern Transjordan.²⁵⁴

While the density of the population in the territory of Moab, leaving aside for the moment consideration of the territories of Edom and 'Ammôn and Gilead, was greater in the Nabataean period than in any other, the demands of the inhabitants were so great also during the Early Bronze and the Early Iron Ages, that every available bit of land was put under cultivation. To

²⁵³ AJA XXXVII, pp. 381-2; see above n.; ANNUAL XIV, pp. 72-5.

²⁵⁴ Glueck, Nabataean Syria and Nabataean Transjordan, JPOS XVIII, 1938, pp. 1-6.

judge from the intensiveness of the cultivation of the soil during the Early Bronze and Early Iron Ages in southern and central Transjordan,—the regions which we have thus far more or less intensively explored—, the population in all of Transjordan was during these periods considerably larger than the present approximately 300,000 population of the land. An indication of the degree to which the cultivable soil was utilized also in the pre-Nabataean periods of settlement is indicated, for instance, by the comparatively numerous Bronze- and Early Iron Age sites we found on the s. slope of the Moabite plateau leading down to the Wādī el-Ḥesā. In the following discussion we shall deal with all the sites west of Dhât Râs, Quṣūbah and el-'Aineh, encountered on the s. edge and slope of the Moabite plateau.

About 7.5 km. n. w. of Dhât Râs is Kh. el-'Abdeh (99), situated in a fertile, agricultural area, not far from the s. edge of the Moabite plateau.²⁵⁵ It is a rather large, completely destroyed Nabataean-Roman site, with only house- and wall-foundations visible. A considerable number of Nabataean sherds of all kinds was found, including sigillata fragments of the 'Pergamene' type, and fine sherds with bands of polishing similar to fragments found for instance at Aila,²⁵⁶ which may extend down into the Byzantine period. There were also some early Byzantine sherds. Several hundred metres to the n. n. e. is another much ruined site, really a part of the main site, being also called Kh. el-'Abdeh, the same types of sherds being found there, with the addition of some fairly modern Arabic sherds. Farther south, about 5 km. w. n. w. of Dhât Râs, is a small modern village, called ed-Deweikhleh ²⁵⁷ (79). It is built over the ruins of previous Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine settlements, sherds of which periods were found, in addition to some building blocks of these periods found inserted into modern walls. Over the doorway of one of the houses in the village is a lintel with a Byzantine cross on it. A little more than a kilometre west of ed-Deweikhleh, and like it overlooking the Wādī el-Ḥesā, is another small inhabited village, called Juweir (81), which also is built over Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine ruins. Several kilometres to the n. w. is the small inhabited village of Mejrā (85), likewise built over Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine ruins, with sherds from these periods. In various places in the village are several stones with Byzantine crosses on them, some of them with faint Greek characters. Several of them seem to be head-stones from graves, and one of them seems to end with the name ANTONINOY. On the s. side of the village is one fairly intact Roman building. Several kilometres beyond Mejrā to the w. n. w. is el-Mejâdel ²⁵⁸ (89), a completely destroyed site, with

²⁵⁵ M, p. 78; PA I, p. 106.

²⁵⁶ ANNUAL XV, p. 15, Pl. 32 B, nos. 22-37.

²⁵⁷ M, p. 360; Sept. 25, 1936.

²⁵⁸ M, p. 360.

one modern house near its w. end. A few scraps of Byzantine ware were found. The site overlooks the descent to the Wādī el-Ḥesā.

Directly below Mejrā, on a fairly flat shelf, just before the beginning of the steep descent in a series of shelves down to the Wādī el-Ḥesā, is a small completely destroyed site, called Kh. 'Usher²⁵⁹ (84). There is a small spring nearby. A few Nabataean-Roman sherds were found. It is evident that in the Nabataean period, and continuing into the Roman, the hillside from the edge of the plateau above to the edge of the flat shelf below it on which this site was located, was terraced and cultivated, whereas today only part of the flat area of the shelf is sown to a meagre crop of wheat once every few years. Continuing down the slope of the Wādī el-Ḥesā to the s. s. e., we came to a small, completely destroyed Nabataean-Roman site, called Kh. 'Aslejah (83), marked also by a number of cave-cisterns. Nabataean-Roman sherds were found, as well as some modern Arabic sherds. Below this site 'Ain Umm Ṣidreh (80) is visible.²⁶⁰ A short distance farther down the slope to the s. w. is Kh. el-Kuweī' (82). It is a fairly large, completely destroyed Nabataean site, with large quantities of Nabataean sherds of all kinds, including sigillata, strewn over the surface. Immediately below it is 'Ain Umm eṣ-Ṣidreh. There are also some Roman sherds, and fragments of Byzantine ware of the Umm er-Raṣāṣ type. There is a rather large sized *sidr* tree by the spring. A couple of hundred metres s. w. of this site is another small, similarly named ruin, which evidently was a part of the former one. About half way down between this last mentioned point and the very bottom of the Wādī el-Ḥesā we passed another small, completely destroyed ruin called Rujm el-Meḥeires,²⁶¹ by which a few exceedingly worn fine sherds were found which might have been Nabataean or Roman. Continuing s. w. along the slope of the hillside, and then ascending for some distance, we came to a large, flat shelf on the side of the hill, which was marked by large green patches, visible even from the distance. On approaching closer, they turned out to be for the most part clumps of *sidr* trees near green, grassy areas, by the side of rivulets originating in a number of strong springs emerging from the hillside above the site. One of these springs above the site is called 'Ain el-Ghābah, whose waters descend down a small, green-marked cleft from a shelf above. At the s. end of the fairly flat shelf which is called 'Arḍ en-Njājīr is a small eminence, on the top of which at one time was evidently a fortress or building of some kind, practically all traces of which are now missing. By this Kh. en-Njājīr (86), and elsewhere in the 'Arḍ en-Njājīr,²⁶² particularly on its n. e. side and on the slope leading down this side to the cleft that marks its boundary on the e. side, were found

²⁵⁹ Sept. 26, 1936.

²⁶⁰ M, p. 360.

²⁶¹ M, p. 360.

²⁶² M, p. 360; *Bulletin* 65, p. 21.

a small quantity of EI I-II Moabite sherds and also a small quantity of rather late looking red-painted, or dark brown painted and plain Nabataean sherds. The area from the foot of the rise on which Kh. en-Njājīr stands, slopes away in the form of a saddle to the foot of the hillside to the north, which leads to the shelf above it. A stone conduit, many of the blocks of which are still left, leads from the nearby 'Ain Ghābah to a small *birkeh* near the n. side of the 'Arḍ en-Njājīr, from which then water was led through irrigation ditches, as it is in part today, to the terraced fields of this area. Kh. en-Njājīr overlooks the Ḥammām el-Burbeīṭah to the s.e., below in the Wādī el-Ḥesā, and also commands a view over the junction of the Wādī el-'Afrā²⁶³ with the Wādī el-Ḥesā.

A steep half hour's ascent brought us to a fairly flat, and then rising shelf of tilled land, kept in place by ancient terraces, and rising to a narrow saddle fixed between two pommel-like, great, isolated natural rock-towers. On this saddle were the remains of a large, completely ruined site, which had at one time been surrounded by a strong outer wall. The place is called Kh. Umm eṣ-Ṣedeirah²⁶⁴ (87). The source of 'Ain Ghābah rises immediately below this site to the s.e., its waters thus supplying a large part of the needs of this site, and of Kh. en-Njājīr below it. Large quantities of Bronze Age sherds dating from before EB IV to MB I were found on the terraces surrounding Kh. Umm eṣ-Ṣedeirah, and also on the top of the *khirbeh* itself, where also a few Nabataean sherds were found, and one piece of sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type. The presence of this site on the slope of the Wādī el-Ḥesā, which could exist only because of careful terracing laboriously carried out, indicates that the EB occupation of southern Moab was quite intensive. Certainly the more fertile areas on the top of the plateau would have been the first to have been utilized. Only dire necessity could compel the building of terrace walls, and the careful cultivation of fields which would under normal circumstances not be turned up by the plough. Thus while part of the fields of the 'Arḍ en-Njājīr are cultivated today, none of the fairly extensive terraced fields of Kh. Umm eṣ-Ṣedeirah are used any longer. The terraces are broken and cut with the gashes of neglect. The waters of seasonal rains finding nothing to stem their downward flood, tear paths through the once fruitful fields, and leave a barren hillside behind them, with bare ribs of rock protruding from the soil that has not yet been washed down into the *wādī* below. It should be remembered too in discussing the EB occupation of southern Transjordan, that frequently all traces of former occupation have been swept away, or completely ploughed over in later ages, and are thus often missed in even the most careful of sur-

²⁶³ M, pp. 20. 260.

²⁶⁴ Sept. 27, 1936.

veys. Sufficient numbers of EB sites have now been found in southern and central Transjordan to justify the conclusion that during EB IV-MB I especially, there was an extensive and intensive agricultural civilization in the land. Most of the sites are large, strongly walled, and frequently built on an eminence easy of defence. The cities which the Eastern Kings conquered and probably laid waste when they marched through the length of Transjordan as far as El-paran²⁶⁵ were the products of an advanced type of agricultural civilization. The dwellers of the land were industrious tillers of the soil, who built strong walled villages in which they lived and used much excellent, if



Fig. 35. Kh. Umm Şeḍeirah, s. slope of Wādī Ḥesā in background.

on the whole somewhat coarse hand-made pottery. It may be doubted whether these individually strong EB sites were united into any one political union. They seem to have had no common system of border defences to guard against the inroads of the Bedū, nor to have been sufficiently confederated to withstand the onslaught of the organized army which moved against them, and which evidently was able in one swift march through the land to lay waste to all of them. It is high time that one of the numerous EB sites in Transjordan be dug, in order to give us more than the brief glimpses vouchsafed us from the Biblical records and the information gained from surface finds (Fig. 35).

Across the small divide, between the shelf of land on which Kh. Umm eş-Şeḍeirah is located and another shelf n. n. e. of it, are several modern houses

²⁶⁵ Genesis 14, 6; *Bulletin* 72, p. 5, n. 3; see below, p. 91.

known as Umm el-Khanāzîr. In addition to the 'Ain Ghâbah there are several good springs above Kh. Umm eş-Şedeirah, which help irrigate the upland terraced fields, cultivated also to a degree today, situated above the site. The name of one of them is 'Ain 'Awarwareh(?).

Continuing the ascent in a n. e. direction, past rudely terraced fields, whose ancient walls fallen into disrepair no longer suffice properly to hold the soil in place, we came to a small, completely destroyed Nabataean site, called el-Beqî'. A rude, modern house was standing among the ruins, where a few scraps of Nabataean sherds were found. Several hundred metres to the east is a good spring called 'Ain es-Sweilîm. On the next upland shelf above it, which was anciently terraced, and where the land is utilized also to a degree today, is a medium-sized, completely destroyed Nabataean site, containing numerous cisterns. It is called Kh. eş-Şerâreh (88). Numerous Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found there, in addition to a number of mediaeval Arabic sherds, and some modern ones. Immediately across the gully on its w. side, on top of a knoll that rises a short distance above the fairly level stretch to the west and north of it, is another small, completely ruined site, also called Kh. eş-Şerâreh. Numerous EB IV-MB I sherds were found on it and around it, as well as a small number of Nabataean sherds, including one piece of sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type. On the Nabataean site of Kh. eş-Şerâreh, however, to the east of it, no Bronze Age sherds at all were found. This juxtaposition of an EB site and a Nabataean site is not uncommon, as may be seen for instance at Lejjûn and Lehûn.²⁶⁶ Umm el-Khanāzîr is visible below this site to the s. s. w.

It will be seen that on the s. slope leading down from the top of the Moabite plateau to the Wâdî el-Ḥesâ, there are three EB sites, which are indicative of the heavy settlement of the land during that age, and instructive for the knowledge of the nature particularly of the EB IV—MB I civilization. The EB sites include el-'Aineh,^{266a} Kh. Umm eş-Şedeirah, and Kh. eş-Şerâreh. The EI I-II sites on this slope include Kh. el-Medeyineh, el-'Akûzeh, Kh. en-Njâjîr and, as we shall see, Kh. edh-Dhubâb and Kh. Khâneq en-Naşârâ below the s. w. corner of the Moabite plateau. In both cases it is possible that traces of additional sites belonging to these two periods have been completely swept away. Be that as it may, there is sufficient evidence to show that during these two periods the slope down to the Wâdî el-Ḥesâ was intensively cultivated. It was during the Nabataean period, however, which extends into the period of the Roman conquest of the land, that the slope leading down to the Wâdî el-Ḥesâ was most intensively occupied.

²⁶⁶ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 44-5. 49.

^{266a} ANNUAL XV, pp. 103-4.

Wherever terracing could make cultivation possible, it was undertaken, and every possible square foot of land was made serviceable. Only the pressing demands of a soil-hungry population could have compelled the utilization of all this area, which required an inordinate effort to transform it into cultivable land and to maintain it as such. The present owners of the slope no longer build terraces nor repair ancient ones, except in certain limited instances, and it is only a matter of time before the soil so carefully husbanded in past ages will be swept away for ever. If proof were needed not only of the nature of the civilization of the EB and EI inhabitants of the land, and particularly of the nature of the Nabataean civilization, it would certainly be furnished by the examination of the numerous farming settlements even on the inhospitable slopes of the deep Wādī el-Ḥesā.

The evidence is piling up with regard to the character of the Nabataean civilization. The numerous Nabataean settlements of a permanent character listed by the archaeological survey expeditions of the Schools, in addition to the new information with regard to the character of the Nabataean deities gained from the excavations at Kh. et-Tannûr,²⁶⁷ make it certain that the Nabataeans were thickly settled in permanent stone villages and cities in southern Transjordan between the 1st century B. C. and the 2nd century A. D., and had largely cast off the nomadic ways which characterized them and their culture preceding that period in favor of a highly developed agricultural civilization. In the Nabataean temple at Kh. et-Tannûr was found an entire pantheon of fertility deities characteristic of the advanced civilizations of the peoples with whom they came into contact. The day has passed when the entire development and the great wealth of the Nabataean kingdom can be ascribed exclusively to the caravan trade from Arabia northward which was largely in their hands.²⁶⁸ They did engage in caravan trade to a great extent, to be sure, but they also engaged in industry,²⁶⁹ and both intensively and extensively in agriculture, as we have seen. Petra cannot merely be understood as a "caravan city" as it has so frequently been called;²⁷⁰ it was also the center of a great agricultural area whose products were marketed in Petra. We feel certain because of the definite relationship between the main High Place at Petra and the Nabataean temple plan of Kh. et-Tannûr and other Nabataean temples,²⁷¹ that some day proper excavations will bring to light

²⁶⁷ *Bulletin* 67, pp. 6-16; 69, pp. 7-18; *AJA* XLI: 3, pp. 361-76.

²⁶⁸ *Bulletin* 65, p. 21; *RB* 45, (1936), p. 473; Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, pp. 52-3; Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen* I, p. 4.

²⁶⁹ *ANNUAL* XV, pp. 14. 34. 40. 80. 81.

²⁷⁰ Rostovtzeff, p. 53.

²⁷¹ *Bulletin* 69, pp. 15-18.

at Petra the same fertility deities characteristic of an advanced agricultural civilization that were found at Kh. et-Tannûr.

About 5 km. w. n. w. of Mejra is Kh. edh-Dhubâb²⁷² (90), about half a kilometre below the top of the s. w. corner of the Moabite plateau. Below it to the n. w. is the Wâdî et-Taîyibeh. This wâdî joins the Wâdî el-Jedeirah, which turns n. w.-w. n. w., and under the name of the Seil en-Numeirah²⁷³ descends to the Dead Sea. The Lisân is visible from this site. Kh. edh-Dhubâb also commands a view of the descent to the Wâdî el-Ḥesâ. Below the n. w. base of the hill on which it is situated are some springs at the beginning of the Wâdî et-Taîyibeh. The sides of this hill were terraced anciently, and on top of it, stretching along part of the length of its ridge, are the ruins of this site, which was situated within a long, more or less rectangular walled enclosure. The s. w. wall measures approximately 130 m. long, while the n. w. wall measures approximately 32 m. Among the completely destroyed ruins of the site were found large quantities of EI Moabite sherds of all kinds, and also very numerous Nabataean sherds, including sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type and sigillata with the reddish core. There were also some early Byzantine sherds. Continuing the descent to the west for about forty minutes over rough terraced and ploughed fields, we came to the small site of Merzab Mezra'ah, with its spring, fig-tree grove, and vineyard. There were some modern Arabic sherds on the ground. Half an hour farther on to the w. s. w., along the upland track that parallels the direction of the Wâdî el-Ḥesâ, we came upon the small, completely destroyed Kh. Umm Rummâneh, with the small 'Ain Rummâneh immediately below it. A few Nabataean sherds and several fragments of sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type were found. Below Kh. edh-Dhubâb to the n.-n. n. w. and immediately above the Wâdî et-Taîyibeh, is Kh. es-Sedeir (91). On its n. e. side is the strong spring of 'Ain es-Sedeir. It is a completely destroyed site, where we were able to pick up only a few Nabataean sherds, and a piece of sigillata. A short distance to the n. n. e. of this site, on an isolated hill, is Kh. Khâneq en-Naşârâ (93), which overlooks the approaches to 'Ain es-Sedeir, and the few gardens clustering about it. A small number of EI I-II sherds was found, and also several Nabataean sherds, including a few pieces of sigillata.

About 3.5 km. w. n. w. of Kh. edh-Dhubâb and about 2 km. w. s. w. of Khanzîreh, is the imposingly situated site of Kh. Medînet er-Râs²⁷⁴ (94). Located on top of the ridge of a completely isolated hill which is oriented s. s. w. by n. n. e., the exceedingly ruined fortress which is contained in a

²⁷² Sept. 28, 1936; *Bulletin* 65, p. 23; M, p. 260.

²⁷³ ANNUAL XV, pp. 7. 8.

²⁷⁴ M, pp. 72. 260; June 25, 1937.

very large walled enclosure commands a wonderful view over the steep descent to the mouth of the Wādī el-Ḥesā which spreads into the Ghôr, and over the steep descent, broken by a number of shelves, to the Ghôr and the s. end of the Dead Sea. The salt pans of the Dead Sea Potash Company, which has recently undertaken large operations at the s. end, in addition to the work going on at the n. end of the Dead Sea for the purpose of extracting valuable chemicals and minerals from its waters, are clearly visible from this site, brightening the arid grayish brownness of the waste lands of the Ghôr proper south of the Dead Sea. The great walled enclosure which is built along the fairly flat top of the ridge is oriented s. s. w. by n. n. e. The Dead Sea is visible up to beyond the Lisân, whose entire length can clearly be seen from this site. The site also commands a view over the Wādī Khanzîreh. The walls are built of large, rudely shaped flint blocks, and are still one metre high on the average, and 2 m. wide. The walls seem to be 2 m. thick. Inside the walls of the enclosure are the ruins of numerous houses, built against its sides. The w. wall of the enclosure, excluding the w. wall of the ruined fortress itself, which forms the s. continuation of the wall, is 146 m. long. The w. wall of the fortress measures 18.30 m. The n. n. e. wall of the enclosure measures 5.40 m. from the w. side to the gateway, which measures 3 m., and then continues for another 8.50 m., making the n. side 16.90 m. in length all told. The n. e. slope of the hill represents the easiest approach. The e. s. e. wall which has a large bulge in approximately the middle of its length, measures 141.60 m. to the point where the e. wall of the ruined fortress begins, which seems to measure about 14 m. There is very little of this part of the wall left. The ruined fortress itself, as it has been seen, is situated at the s. end of the enclosure, its e. and w. walls evidently forming a part of the long walls of the enclosure. The outer s. s. w. wall of the fortress proper, which at the same time forms the outer end of the entire complex, measures about 26 m. Only the w. half of the fortress is preserved to any extent, and it measures 8.30 by 10 m. It is very strongly built, and its walls of large flint, and limestone blocks are set in headers and stretchers. Four courses of the wall of the fortress at the s. w. corner measure one metre high. At one time there seems to have been a revetment built against the outer walls of the fortress, which, however, has now fallen away. The fortress proper is situated on a knoll at the s. end of the site, which overlooks the entire enclosure. At the n. w. corner of the fortress proper, on top of the *rujm* which represents its remains, the engineers of the cadastral survey of Transjordan have erected a survey cairn. This is not surprising in view of the fact that this point at 1234 m. is the highest in s. w. Moab. It is, however, interesting, that as in

the case of Rujm es-Şîreh,²⁷⁵ and several of the Edomite frontier posts situated on high, isolated hills,²⁷⁶ they should have chosen ancient sites, which are built at the most strategic points in the land. Some of the area inside the great enclosure may have been cultivated. Remnants of terrace walls which cling to the steep slopes of the hill testify to a certain degree of cultivation which was carried on immediately beneath the walls of the enclosure, before the hillsides become too steep to permit any agricultural activity. There are no visible cisterns or other sources of water immediately nearby. It is quite possible that some of the debris inside the enclosure has covered up some of the cisterns, or there may be some cisterns on some of the lower slopes beneath the site, which we did not get to see. A small number of Nabataean sherds was found at Kh. Medînet er-Râs, indicating that there was a Nabataean settlement there at one time, which probably continued into the Roman period. The entire manner of the construction of the site, however, and particularly of the fortress at its s. end with its large blocks set in headers and stretchers, makes it seem probable that Kh. Medînet er-Râs was first constructed and occupied during EI I-II. In general appearance and construction it is not very different from other EI sites in southern Trans-jordan, enclosed in great walled-rectangles on the tops of hills.²⁷⁷ No EI sherds were found, but they may well have been swept away in the course of the millennia, as most of the Nabataean sherds were. This strong fortress at the s. w. corner of Moab not only completes the line of EI sites on or below the very s. edge of the Moabite plateau but also forms the first link in the chain of fortresses which, as we shall see, guarded the w. side of the Moabite plateau, overlooking the steep and inhospitable slopes which lead down to the Dead Sea. These formed, so to speak, the first line of defences of the w. boundary of the Moabite kingdom, strongly augmented by a chain of towers and blockhouses and well secured walled sites built on or near the w. edge of the Moabite plateau. We have seen why the allied forces of Judah and Israel and Edom could not enter Moab from the s. border, being compelled to move considerably to the east before they could attempt to break into the territory of Moab from this line. It becomes more apparent to us now why they did not choose the much closer side of the Moabite kingdom and attempt to enter into it from the west. There would have been first of all the difficulty of getting from the north along the e. side of the Dead Sea. Then it would be necessary to climb the very steep and more or less arid slopes leading from the Dead Sea to the top of the w. side of the Moabite plateau,

²⁷⁵ See above pp. 71-2.

²⁷⁶ See above p. 24, notes 98-100.

²⁷⁷ See above pp. 44, n. 133; 61-2.

only to be compelled after attaining the top to capture the strongholds, situated on high hills for the most part, which protected this side of the highly developed Moabite kingdom. We shall see too that the n. boundary of Moab was also well protected. It is understandable that the forces of Judah and Israel felt it necessary to make direct contact with their Edomite allies, in order to "persuade" this vassal state to supply contingents for the attack against their Moabite neighbors. They could, however, just as easily then have marched northward along the e. side of the Dead Sea to a position immediately north of the Lisân, and then followed one of several tracks leading to the top of the Moabite plateau, as to march eastward along the s. side of the Wâdî el-Ḥesâ before attempting an entry.²⁷⁸ As a matter of fact, there is a roadway leading from near Kh. Medînet er-Râs via Kathrabbâ and Kh. 'Esâl to the s. side of the Lisân, and then directly southward along the e. side of the Dead Sea to the Ghôr eṣ-Ṣâfî. An important Roman road, much of which is still intact, follows exactly this line leading from Kerak via Kh. Môteh down to the Dead Sea. One branch of it then probably crossed to the w. side of the Dead Sea over the ford which used to be passable from the Lisân to the other side. The other branch turned southward to the Ghôr eṣ-Ṣâfî, connecting with the road that led directly through the 'Arabah to Aila.²⁷⁹

The examination of the s. and s. w. slopes and edge of the Moabite plateau which revealed the presence of so comparatively many settlements belonging mainly to EB IV—MB I, EI I-II, and Nabataean periods, proved naturally to be indicative of the larger number of sites belonging to these historical periods which crowded the s. part of the Moabite plateau proper. In addition to the sites about to be discussed, there should be taken into account the sites previously reported on in this area in Vol. XIV and XV of the ANNUAL. About 6.5 km. e. s. e. of Kh. Medînet er-Râs is the tremendous site of el-Mudowwerah²⁸⁰ (95). To the s. w., immediately across the Wâdî Jehrâ, is the modern Arabic site of Jehrâ, containing half a dozen rude modern houses. It is built on a small rise overlooking the Wâdî Jehrâ, and looks as if it may have been built on or out of the ruins of some earlier site. The modern debris, however, is so thick, that nothing could be found at Jehrâ to prove the presence of perhaps an earlier Byzantine or Nabataean-Roman site. El-Mudowwerah occupies the entire, fairly flat top of a completely isolated hill, which is surrounded by small *wudyân* on each side. The entire area, which has the shape roughly

²⁷⁸ See above p. 161, n. 186.

²⁷⁹ *Bulletin* 67, pp. 19-20; ANNUAL XV, p. 16; ZDPV 40 (1917), p. 58, Pl. 1; M, pp. 21-2.

²⁸⁰ Sept. 29, 1936; *Bulletin* 65, pp. 22-3.

of a great truncated triangle, was once enclosed with strong walls. Parts of it are visible particularly along the s. w. wall, although the foundation levels of most of the length of the enclosing walls can be traced without much difficulty. The n., e., and s. w. walls respectively, measure about 300 m. in length, while the w. wall, which completes the end of the truncated triangle, and curves around from the w. end of the s. w. wall to the w. end of the n. wall, measures approximately 100 m. None of the sides represent straight lines, but bend and curve in accordance with the lines of the top of the hill. The e. slope of the hill is the least precipitous, and there are clear traces of a roadway leading up to the entrance at the s. e. corner of the site. The entire area on top of the hill is completely ploughed over and regularly planted to wheat and *dhūrah*, as are to a degree the terraced slopes beneath the walls. The fairly flat area inside the enclosure on top of the hill is also partly terraced, where necessary. Inside of this great enclosure, and also on the slopes immediately below its walls, were found large numbers of Early Bronze Age sherds which can be dated no later than EB IV, and one apparently Hellenistic handle. Apparently after the site was abandoned about 2200 B. C. it was never again reoccupied, although its area may have been set to cultivation during the next period when agriculture was extensively practiced in Transjordan, namely from the Early Iron Age on.

A sufficient number of EB IV—MB I sites have now been discovered in Transjordan to enable one to say that a considerable proportion follow a certain pattern of construction, as has already been partially noted.²⁸¹ This is particularly true in EB sites which have escaped being built over in subsequent ages after their abandonment in the EB period, as for example at el-Lejjūn.²⁸² These sites, as at Ader,²⁸³ where there is a modern village built over part of the huge Bronze Age site, and at Bālū'ah,²⁸⁴ where a large EI site was built over the original EB settlement, seem to have fenced off, so to speak, as much land as they could, and cultivated it behind the security of their exceedingly strong walls. This is not to imply that in the Early Bronze Age no agriculture was carried on outside the walls of the EB sites, but that much of it was carried on inside these walled-in areas. I know of no EI sites in Transjordan where sufficient land was walled in to make possible similar activities. There was, to be sure, enough land within the walls of places like el-'Akūzeh,²⁸⁵ Kh. Medīnet er-Rās,²⁸⁶ and Kh. el-Medeiyineh in the Wādī

²⁸¹ See above p. 83.

²⁸² ANNUAL XIV, pp. 44-5.

²⁸³ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 45-7; Wright, *The Pottery of Palestine to the End of EB*, pp. 78-81. 106; TBM I, p. 6 fig. 1; *Bulletin* 53, pp. 14-5.

²⁸⁴ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 53-6.

²⁸⁵ See above pp. 61-2, n. 187.

²⁸⁶ See above pp. 86-9.

eth-Themed,²⁸⁷ for the flocks to be driven in at night time, and indeed for some gardening to be done, but there was certainly not enough land to grow a respectable crop of any kind. In the Early Iron Age the land was cultivated outside of the villages or strongholds, the *fellāḥîn* returning to their places of residence there, or tenting in their fields at times if distances were too great to make it feasible to return to their permanent homes every night. They lived in much the same wise as the modern *fellāḥîn* and *ʿarab* do today, the former usually returning nightly to their stone houses in villages, while the latter follow their crops in districts which may be fairly distant from their permanent places of residence in villages, to return there only during the winter months of the year.²⁸⁸ Indeed it would seem that in contrast the political conditions during the early Bronze Age were so unsettled that it was found necessary in many instances to wall in large fields covering from about three to ten acres and more, and till the soil there. There are too many such walled-in areas, in addition to other EB sites, to think that the danger the inhabitants of the EB sites feared may have been expected only from the desert. It would seem rather that there was a good deal of rivalry between the numerous EB settlements themselves, and that their protective walls were at least as much directed against their neighbors in their own land as against foreign invaders. The political disunity in Transjordan during the EB IV-MB I period is reflected in the account in Genesis 14, 5-7.²⁸⁹ According to this account, the Eastern Kings led by Chedorlaomer conquered all of Transjordan²⁹⁰ by picking off piecemeal from Ashtaroḥ and Ḥam as far south as El-paran²⁹¹ all of the fortified sites which lay in their path, and which apparently made no effort to face the enemy with a united front. It seems indeed that the destruction effected by the alliance of the Eastern Kings was such a thoroughgoing one that most of EB IV-MB I Transjordan never recovered from it. Its cities were never rebuilt, and at least all of Transjordan s. of the Wādī ez-Zerqā²⁹² (the River Jabbôk) became the camping ground of tent-dwellers. Permanent villages and fortresses were not again built till the beginning of the Early Iron Age. However loose the political union of the village-states in southern and central Transjordan may have been during EB IV-MB I, the fact remains that theirs was predominantly an agricultural economy. The strong nature of their fortifications, their excellently developed pottery, the

²⁸⁷ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 52-3.

²⁸⁸ M, p. 256.

²⁸⁹ Cf. Gen. 14, 1-4, 8-12.

²⁹⁰ Albright, APB, ed. 3, p. 142; ANNUAL XIV, p. 82; XV, p. 104.

²⁹¹ *Bulletin* 35, pp. 10-11; 72, p. 5.

²⁹² Albright, *Bulletin* 68, p. 21, n. 21, points out that there was an MB and LB occupation of the Ḥaurān and Northeastern Gilead.

comparative thickness of their settlements, testify to a civilization of no mean attainments. Who were these Early Bronze Age settlers in Transjordan who built so enduringly and tilled the land so intensively? Did those EB settlers who found their homes in southern and central Transjordan come from the desert, as did the Edomites and the Moabites and the inhabitants of southern Gilead who in time came after them at the beginning of the Early Iron Age, and built up kingdoms in the lands the EB peoples had formerly occupied? As a result of the great catastrophe which overcame them at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, which caused their sudden disappearance as dwellers in fixed settlements, for five centuries or more the land was peopled only by nomads, whose sojourn in the land left no permanent traces of their stay behind them. What prevented the land from being settled at least as intensively in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages as it apparently was in the Ḥaurān and northeastern Gilead, and as it was in western Palestine? These are all questions which will only be answered, if at all, by a series of excavations in some of the EB IV-MB I sites, which have been discovered in central and southern Transjordan.²⁹³

To the n. n. e. of el-Mudowwerah, on top of a hill, is a small, completely ruined site, called Rujm el-Ḥeleileh (96). A few worn Nabataean-Roman sherds were found there. To the east of el-Mudowwerah, on top of a hill, on the n. side of the Wādī Umm 'Arā'is is a small completely destroyed EI I-II site, called Rujm Umm Ṣuwānā (97). A few worn EI I-II sherds were found there. 2.5 km. n. e. of Jehrā is Jôzā²⁹⁴ (101). It is a fairly large, completely ruined site, situated in the fertile south Moabite plateau. Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there, indicating a steady occupation from the Nabataean period on. There is one small, fairly intact Roman building still standing among the ruins. It is about 7 m. square, oriented e.-w., and the entrance is on the s. side. The large, drafted, limestone blocks of the original buildings are in striking contrast to the rubble walls built over them in modern times. There is also a modern house on the site, built largely with stones from some Roman building. On the w. s. w. side of the site are several springs, called 'Ain Ḥeleileh and 'Ain Meqeir. N. e.

²⁹³ Cf. *Bulletin* 65, pp. 22-3; Albright, JPOS 15, pp. 217-8; Wright, *Bulletin* 71, p. 34. The invasion of Western Palestine by nomadic tribes from the desert during the last quarter of the third millenium B. C., which Albright (TBM II, p. 16) posits, may have accounted for the destruction of the EB IV-MB I civilization also in central and southern Transjordan. It still, however, furnishes no explanation for the gap in the history of permanent settlement in these areas between the end of the first part of MB I and the beginning of EI I.

²⁹⁴ M, pp. 256. 260. 264; May 6, 1937.

of Jôzā and s. of el-Beqeī' is a fairly small, completely ruined site, where Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found, in addition to modern. It is called ed-Debākeh ²⁹⁵ (106). It is near the w. edge of the s. part of the Moabite plateau, and a considerable portion of the Dead Sea is visible from it. There is one rude modern house standing among the ruins, built partly out of old building blocks of various preceding periods. North of it is the already mentioned el-Beqeī' (107). A short distance from it there is a fine view of the central part of the Dead Sea. Mazâr, where an old mosque is being replaced by a new one, is visible to the e. s. e. S. w. of el-Beqeī' is Kh. el-Beidā (108) ²⁹⁶ by 'Ain el-Beidā, overlooking the Wādī el-Beidā near the w. edge of the Moabite plateau. It is a small, completely destroyed site, with worn sherds dating from the Nabataean, Roman Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods.

It is seen that in the level and quite fertile parts of the s. section of the Moabite plateau, there are numerous sites which show a practically continuous occupation from the Nabataean down through the mediaeval Arabic periods. Others sites will be mentioned in this area, where the same historical data were obtained. All of this region is cultivated today, and there is also a great deal of sheep raising and manufacturing of rugs made of wool. There are undoubtedly a number of EB IV-MB I and EI I-II sites in this region which have completely disappeared because of the comparative thickness of the subsequent settlements which were frequently built over them and out of them. In similar fashion today in Transjordan, many an ancient site is rapidly disappearing either because a new village is spreading itself over all of the ancient remains of an early site, or because some neighboring village is using the ancient ruins as a convenient quarry. In the neighborhood of 'Ammân, for instance, which has been growing very rapidly during the last decade, one site after another, particularly the *mal'ûf* towers in the vicinity of 'Ammân with their huge building blocks, are serving as convenient quarries for modern builders. A comparable process went on probably in previous centuries and millennia, and one of the reasons why so comparatively few EB and EI sites remain in the fertile plateau-land of s. Moab is undoubtedly this factor of ancient and modern vandalism. It can hardly be believed that during the EB IV-MB I and the EI I-II periods there were more sites belonging to these periods on the more or less inhospitable slopes of the Wādī el-Ḥesā than in the heart of the rich farm land above it. We have already seen, and shall see, that not all of the sites belonging to these early periods have disappeared in southern Moab. We emphasize merely that originally there must have been

²⁹⁵ M, p. 365.

²⁹⁶ M, p. 365.

many more than can be definitely fixed now by indubitable building or ceramic remains, or both.

Continuing the descent which had led down to Kh. el-Beidā, we came to a low, completely isolated hill west of el-Beqeī', situated in a strongly rolling landscape immediately below the first depression marking the very w. end of the Moabite plateau. The hill is almost completely surrounded by small *wudyân*. It is bounded from the east to the south by the Wādī Feqeiques, which turns s. w. into the Wādī el-Beidā. The Wādī el-Beidā bends around the hill from the s. w. to the n. w., before it joins the Wādī 'Irâq which cuts its way down westward towards the Dead Sea. The only approach to the hill is from the east and the north. It stands in a rich farm region, planted mainly to wheat, but possessing some orchards and vineyards. Near the junction of the Wādī el-Beidā with the Wādī 'Irâq is the 'Ain 'Irâq. The sides of the hill were anciently terraced, and are still cultivated. The region surrounding this hill is one of the best farmed in Transjordan, its fertile lands being for the most part well utilized. On the top and on the n. side of the hill are the remains of a large site called Feqeiques ²⁹⁷ (109) which have been worn or torn down to their foundation levels. It was a strongly built site, with traces of a thick wall surrounding the top of the hill. On top and on the sides of the hill were found large numbers of EB IV-MB I sherds. There were also large numbers of Nabataean sherds of all kinds, particularly on the n. e. and e. slopes, and some mediaeval Arabic sherds. To the n. n. w. of the site is the modern village of 'Irâq (110). Thus far then in the southernmost and southwesternmost part of the Moabite plateau we have encountered five large EB IV-MB I sites, namely el-'Aineh, Kh. Umm eş-Şeideirah, Kh. es-Serâreh, Mudowwerah, and Feqeiques. Immediately south of Feqeiques, across the small Wādī Feqeiques, on top of a rise, is Kh. Feqeiques, overlooking the 'Ain Feqeiques. It is an almost completely destroyed blockhouse, measuring about 14 m. square. Nabataean, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there. We have seen also that a large Nabataean settlement occupied part of the area of the hill on the n. side of the Wādī Feqeiques, which was first built on during the Early Bronze Age. About 1.5 km. below the village of 'Irâq, to the south of it, is the site of a fairly modern ruined village, also called el-'Irâq, with modern Arabic sherds, and a number of mediaeval Arabic sherds.

To the n. n. w. of the village of 'Irâq is the modern village of Kathrabbā (Kufrabbā) ²⁹⁸ (116). West of it, on top of the highest hill in the vicinity, on the w. edge of which is a survey peg, is a double site, Kh. el-Meidân ²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ M, p. 256.

²⁹⁸ M, pp. 256. 364; PA II, p. 327.

²⁹⁹ May 7, 1937.

(115). There are really two sites, although both go by the same name, one of them being on the s. e. end of the top of the hill, and the other on the n. w. end. The hill-top is oriented s. e. by n. w. There is a good view over the s. half of the Dead Sea including the Lisân from the top of this hill. On the s. s. w. side of the top of the s. e. end of the hill, on a slight rise, are the remains of a strongly walled circular enclosure, measuring roughly 23 m. in diameter, with the remains of a blockhouse on the w. side, overlooking the descent to the Dead Sea. The enclosing wall is 1.20 m. thick. There are fragments of walls of several other buildings in the enclosure. Inside of this enclosure and around it were found numerous EI I-II sherds, in addition to many Nabataean sherds. The site was obviously a Moabite fortress well situated on an excellent vantage point below the w. edge of the Moabite plateau, and one of the line of w. defences that began with Kh. Medînet er-Râs in the s. w. corner of Moab. Five cisterns, in addition to cave-cisterns on the top of the hill, both inside and outside of the EI site, furnished the necessary water for the inhabitants of the site. None of these cisterns functions today, although with a little cleaning out and repairing they could be made again to catch the rain-water which is now totally wasted. At the n. w. end of the top of the hill, about 500 m. removed from the EI site, are the remains of a fairly large, but now completely destroyed Nabataean site. The foundation walls of a considerable number of houses can be made out. Large quantities of Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found, including several pieces of sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type. The bottom slopes of the hill were anciently cultivated, to judge from the old terraces, and are also cultivated today, as are the adjacent fields. No one lives on the site any more, however. Below the Nabataean site of Meidân, on the slope of the hill opposite it to the n. e. are several springs. Returning from 'Irâq village to the top of the plateau, we came to Rujm el-Heleileh (111), somewhat more than a kilometre to the east of it. It is a small, almost completely destroyed blockhouse, made of large flint blocks. It is oriented n.-s., and measures 10 by 8 m. A few Nabataean-Roman sherds were found. It faces on the west the small Wâdî Umm et-Ṭuwâqah, which going in a general direction s. w. joins the Wâdî 'Irâq. This in turn unites with the Wâdî Ḥedeirah, which descends to the Dead Sea through the Ghôr en-Numeirah.³⁰⁰ Continuing the ascent to the north, we came to Kh. Umm Qeṣeir (113), which is a jumble of fallen stones of a small, poorly built building, constructed originally of rows of small flint blocks, with small stones to keep the rows fairly straight inserted between the larger ones. A considerable number of painted and glazed mediaeval Arabic

³⁰⁰ ANNUAL XV, pp. 7-8.

sherds was found, and also a few Nabataean-Roman sherds indicating an earlier occupancy of the site. The village of 'Irâq is visible below this site to the s. w., and Meidân is visible to the n. w. The slopes of the hill were anciently terraced. Feqeiques is visible to the south. To the e. s. e. is the large, completely ruined site of Zabdah, situated on top of the fertile Moabite plateau. In it are the ruins of several large buildings, built of large, roughly hewn flint blocks, with several almost completely filled-up cisterns between them. There are numerous Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval painted and glazed Arabic sherds.

N. n. e. of Zabdah (112) is Kefeirâz³⁰¹ (114). The minarets of Mazâr are visible in the distance to the s. e. Kefeirâz is a very large ruined site, apparently once enclosed with an outer wall, the s. side of which is still clearly marked. At the s. w. corner of the site is a comparatively intact, well-built flint-block building, which is still 6 courses high in places. Other buildings are similarly well preserved. Inside the town, and on its e. and w. sides, are numerous, well-built cisterns. They are cut through a solid layer of rock varying from 1 to 1.5 m. in thickness, before widening out into a pear-shaped type of cisterns, and are lined with dressed blocks of stone near the top. Several of these cisterns still had some water in them from recent rains, although evidently no attempt had been made to keep them in condition from the time they were last abandoned, probably in the mediaeval Arabic period. On the w. side of the town is a large *birkeh*, which could easily be repaired to dam up water again. Some of the buildings were built of large flint blocks, set in rows, with smaller stones between them to make the rows more or less even, and would seem to belong for the most part to the mediaeval Arabic period. Others of the ruins of the buildings must go back to the Byzantine and Roman periods, and fragments of others to the Nabataean period. The sherds were largely Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic, but a small quantity of typical Nabataean sherds was also found. Among them were some sherds of the fine ware with bands of polishing on the outer surface, which may also possibly extend down to the Byzantine period.³⁰² About 2.5 km. south of Kefeirâz is Meshraqah, a small, completely ruined site, with Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. About 2 km. west of Mazâr (104) is Rujm el-Beqr³⁰³ (102). It is a small, completely destroyed site, with several cisterns visible among the ruins. The remains of several buildings constructed of rough flint blocks are visible. A small quantity of Nabataean-Roman sherds was found. About half a kilometre n. n. w. of Rujm el-Beqr

³⁰¹ M, pp. 364. 365.

³⁰² See above p. 80 and n. 256.

³⁰³ May 8, 1937.

is *Rujm Umm el-‘Aṭāṭ*³⁰⁴ (103), which is somewhat larger than the former, but to which the same description applies. Less than a kilometre to the w. n. w. of *Rujm Umm el-‘Aṭāṭ* is *Rujm Mes‘īd* (105), which represents the ruins of a small, almost totally destroyed building, constructed of rude flint blocks. Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine sherds were found. Immediately in front of the e. side of *Rujm Mes‘īd* passes a clear section of the Roman road. There are signs of ancient terraces and garden walls throughout this entire countryside. Going west from *Môteh*, and passing as we have noted in front of *Rujm Mes‘īd*, one can follow clear traces of the Roman road, which ultimately descends below *Kathrabbā* over a ridge down to the *Lisân*.³⁰⁵ It will be seen from the above how thickly the s. part of the Moabite plateau was settled. The rich agricultural lands were intensively cultivated, as they are today. They seemed, however, to judge from the number of modern settlements in this area in comparison with the ancient ones, to have supported a larger population than now.

Two and a half km. n. n. e. of *Mejrā* is the small ruined site of *Rujm ‘Alendā*³⁰⁶ (98), situated on top of a rise, in a fertile, cultivated area. The ruins consist of two rooms of a large building. The larger, oriented e. w., measures 20 by 16 m., while the smaller, built against the s. wall of the former, with its w. wall being the continuation of the w. wall of the larger room, measures about 10.50 m. square. The walls are about 1.20 m. thick. The entrance seems to be near the center of the n. side. There are remnants of a strongly built garden wall beyond this side, and of walled-in courtyards all around the site. The walls of the building are constructed of large, roughly hewn flint blocks, the corners being set in headers and stretchers. The s. e. corner of the larger room is still 4 courses high, equalling 1.70 m. On the w. side is a large cistern, another on the e. side, and a cave-cistern on the s. side. In addition to a small quantity of Nabataean-Roman sherds, there were some clear EI I-II sherds. It would seem that the main part of the building belongs to the Early Iron Age. A few hundred metres n. of *Rujm ‘Alendā* is another small, completely destroyed site, containing the ruins of a small building in a walled enclosure, inside of which there was also a cistern. Nabataean-Roman sherds were found, in addition to several EI sherds. It seems probable that both *rujûm* belong to the same site.

N. w. of *Dhât Râs* and s. e. of *Rujm ‘Alendā* is *Rujm Eshqâḥ*³⁰⁷ (77), a destroyed building, only the line of the w. wall of which is somewhat intact. It is oriented n.-s., measures about 16.40 by 12.50 m., and contains a number

³⁰⁴ M, p. 365.

³⁰⁵ See above pp. 52. 89.

³⁰⁶ M, pp. 361. 366; May 6, 1937.

³⁰⁷ M, p. 360.

of inner room divisions. It is built of roughly hewn flint blocks. Fragments of garden walls are to be seen around it. Quantities of Nabataean and Roman sherds were found. To the east of Jôzâ is a small, completely ruined flint-block site, called Rujm el-Basalîyeh (100), where Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found.

Descending the side of the hill of Kerak which slopes steeply downward to the n. w., we climbed to a flat-topped, isolated ridge immediately above 'Ain Şarâh, which we shall call Kh. Şarâh (131). On top of the ridge was a small, flat, rectangular area, with some few traces of former occupation. Several Nabataean-Roman sherds were found. On a previous occasion we had found Nabataean and Roman sherds at Kerak, in addition to earlier EI I-II and later Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds.³⁰⁸ There are remnants of a dam-wall above 'Ain Şarâh, where water was impounded for the now abandoned mill below it, which has been replaced by a chortling gasoline pumping station. Turning s. w. off the road that leads from Kerak to Mezra'ah,³⁰⁹ we ascended the Wâdî Suhûr, coming upon some tremendous stone wine(?)-presses, carved out of huge blocks of stone, measuring more than a metre in diameter. Several of them had been turned on their sides by the winter freshets that rush down the *wâdî*, and overflow its banks. One of these great basins is called the Ma'amûdîyeh (130). It has a hole at the side, which permitted its contents to drain into a lower basin carved out of the small blocks of stone. Mounting steadily, we came to el-'Izâr (129) to the w. s. w. It consists of a few modern houses, built in the ruins of a small site, where fine Nabataean sherds, and also Roman and Byzantine sherds were found. The modern village of Semerâ is visible to the w. n. w.-n. w. We examined several other sites in the strongly rolling and hilly country-side of the slope leading down to Mezra'ah, but modern occupations had so covered whatever ancient remains may have once existed, that it was impossible to find ruins or sherds which could be dated.

In the hill country across from Kerak to the south and s. e., several places were investigated. Immediately across from Kerak to the s. e. is Rujm el-Jilimeh³¹⁰ (126). It is not a real ruin, as one might suppose from Musil's description,³¹¹ but a pile of field stones flung into a large heap during the course of years and centuries, as ploughmen have attempted to clean somewhat the petraean acres. S. s. e. of Kerak is Kh. Umm Ḥamâd (127), a small, almost completely destroyed site, with a few wall remnants. The buildings had been constructed of large, rude flint blocks. Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine,

³⁰⁸ ANNUAL XV, p. 4.

³⁰⁹ ANNUAL XV, pp. 5. 7.

³¹⁰ June 25, 1937.

³¹¹ M, pp. 45. 362.

and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. Cave-cisterns supplied water for the small community. Less than a kilometre away to the e. s. e. is Qarytein³¹² (125). It is larger than Kh. Umm Ḥamād, but the remains are much the same. In addition to cave-cisterns there were several artificial cisterns. Nabataean-Roman sherds were found. The site overlooks the modern village of eth-Thaniyā to the s. e. of it. S. s. w. of eth-Thaniyah is Kh. en-Neqqāz³¹³ (123), a small, ruined site, with Nabataean-Roman sherds. In other respects it is similar to the above mentioned sites in the vicinity. E. s. e. of the village of 'Azrā is Kh. eṭ-Ṭelīṣah³¹⁴ (124), a large ruined site, with remains of walls and buildings made of flint blocks, situated at an excellent vantage point on top of a ridge. The sherds are predominantly Nabataean, including one piece of sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type. Among them, however, were a few clear EI I-II sherds, including painted, plain, and burnished fragments. Kerak is visible to the north of this site. To the s. s. w. is Kh. el-Lebūn³¹⁵ (121), with some flint block walls left of former buildings. N. w. of it is the village of 'Ainūn, from which it is separated by the small but deep Wādī 'Ainūn. The village of Meḥnā is visible in the distance to the s. s. e. The sherds are predominantly Nabataean. S. s. e. of 'Azrā is Kh. el-Muṣāṭeb³¹⁶ (122). To the e. n. e. is Kh. eṭ-Ṭelīṣah. The s. w. side of the *khirbeh* overlooks the Wādī edh-Dhebā'ah. It is a rectangular, platform-like structure, oriented n. e. by s. w., with steps leading up to the top of the platform in the center of the n. e. and s. w. sides. The steps are best preserved on the n. e. side. At the s. e. corner there remain in position some large, drafted building blocks of Roman type. The raised platform proper measures 7.40 by 14 m., and is supported on a foundation measuring 13.10 by 20 m. The steps on the n. e. side which are 4.40 m. removed from the n. w. corner, measure from 4.40 to 8.10 m., being thus 3.70 m. wide. They are 7.80 m. long. The top of the steps is about 3.50 m. above ground. They were once flanked at the bottom step by two stones, one on each side of the step. Only one of them remains on the e. side; it measures 1.35 by .65 m. Several cisterns are visible below the s. w. side. About 27 m. to the n. n. w. of the *khirbeh* are the ruins of a small, rectangular structure, almost completely covered with debris. We have previously noted,³¹⁷ at the much similar site of Ekhwein el-Khādem, that the lowest steps of the staircases leading respectively to the n. and s. sides of the platform, were flanked by large, rectangular, limestone blocks. They may have served, as possibly also the stones at Kh. el-Muṣāṭeb, as pediments for

³¹² M, pp. 45. 362.³¹³ M, pp. 45. 362.³¹⁴ M, p. 362.³¹⁵ M, p. 362.³¹⁶ M, pp. 45. 362.³¹⁷ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 42-3.

pilasters at the head of the staircase.³¹⁸ A small quantity of worn sherds was found in the vicinity of the *khirbeh*, which may be Roman. The general impression made by the ruin itself is that it is Roman in origin. There is a striking similarity between this site and other masonry platforms, such as those at Lejjûn, Ekhwein el-Khâdem, el-Meseitbeh,³¹⁹ Rujm Menâsir,³²⁰ and Meqta' el-Jabû',³²¹ which we have assigned to the Nabataean period. The Nabataean period extends of course to the beginning of the 2nd century A. D., and some of these sites may have continued in use after the Roman conquest of the Nabataean kingdom in 106 A. D., which is true of many other Nabataean sites. We feel that Kh. el-Muşâṭeb was built after the fashion of these Nabataean sites, and that it served the same purpose, namely as a tomb for some important personage, on the platform of which some cult of the dead may have been practised.³²² Kh. el-Jûbah³²³ (119) overlooking the Wādī Meḥnā and the village of Meḥnā (120) to the s. w., is a practically featureless ruin. A few worn sherds were found, which may be Roman. W. n. w. of Meḥnā is Kh. el-Jeljûl³²⁴ (118), a large, completely destroyed Nabataean-Roman site, with the usual cisterns. To the w. n. w. of it is Kh. el-Meiseh³²⁵ (117), a large, ruined site, on the western edge of the plateau overlooking the Dead Sea. The entire Lisân is visible from it. Kathrabbā is visible below it to the w. n. w., while Mazâr is visible in the distance to the s. s. e. The fields round about the site were all anciently terraced. Very few sherds were to be found, and they seemed to be Roman and Byzantine in nature. About 5 km. w. s. w. of Kerak is Kh. 'Okber³²⁶ (128). There were numerous ancient boundary walls, terraces and heaps of stones which had of old been removed from the fields, but we could find no traces of actual ruins. A very steep path leads down to the bottom of the hill on which Kerak is situated, and evidently the fields of 'Okber are cultivated by some of the inhabitants of Kerak.

It will be seen from the above that the broken hill country around Kerak was intensively cultivated in ancient times. It is not and was not as rich as the fertile fields in the s. part of Moab, but nevertheless, particularly during the Nabataean and through the Byzantine periods, the Kerak area was thickly settled. We have seen that there are but few EI I-II sites in this region, and again we think it is because many or most of them have been completely swept away by later settlements over them.

³¹⁸ ANNUAL XIV, p. 43; PA II, p. 38.

³¹⁹ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 40-4; see above p. 75, n. 243.

³²⁰ See above p. 55, n. 173.

³²¹ See above p. 78.

³²² ANNUAL XIV, p. 44; Iliffe, QDAP VI: 1, p. 13, n. 2; Savignac, RB 45, pp. 246-7, 252-3.

³²³ M, p. 362.

³²⁴ M, p. 364.

³²⁵ M, p. 364.

³²⁶ M, p. 364.

We shall now describe some sites near the Wādī el-Môjib. For the sake of orientation, we recall our previous report on a Nabataean acropolis, called el-Medeyineh, situated on an isolated knoll at the point where the Wādī



Fig. 36. Qaṣr el-'Âl, lk. n. w.

Sâliyah and the Wādī Sa'îdeh meet, the one coming from the north and the other from the east, to form the Seil eş-Şefei, which joins the Wādī el-Môjib below Lehûn.³²⁷ About 4 km. w. s. w. of el-Medeyineh is the prominently situated Qaṣr el-'Âl³²⁸ (150), overlooking from the south the Wādī el-Kharazeh,³²⁹ which farther on to the west is known as the Wādī Sa'îdeh. Visible

³²⁷ ANNUAL XIV, p. 36.

³²⁸ M, pp. 248-9.388. 394, n. 3; PA I, p. 6; II, p. 61; Sept. 11, 1936.

³²⁹ ANNUAL XIV, p. 34.

for miles in all directions—it is 818 m. high—its position made it one of the most important fortresses of the border defence system along the e. front of Moab. When we first saw the *qaṣr* from the distance, it was impossible to tell whether it was EI Moabite or Nabataean or both, as is actually the case, but it was obvious from our past experience with such sites that it had to be at least one or the other (Fig. 36). The *qaṣr* is oriented n. n. e. by s. s. w., and measures 20 by 16.5 m. The w. wall is still 18 courses high in places, amounting to 6.80 m (Fig. 37). Very large building blocks were used in the con-



Fig. 37. Qaṣr el-ʿÂl, w. wall.

struction of the *qaṣr*, some of them measuring 2.50 by .50 by .35 m., and others 3 by .70 by .55 m. The n. wall at the w. end is still 11 courses high, equalling 4.5 m. The w. half of the s. wall is largely intact, being as high as the w. wall. The e. and n. walls are the most damaged, although the n. e. corner is fairly intact, being about as high as the w. end of the n. wall. The walls seem to be about 1.20 m. in thickness. The *qaṣr* is situated in the n. w. corner of a great rectangular enclosure, the n. w. angle of which is formed by the n. and w. walls of the *qaṣr* itself. The lines of the enclosure walls are traceable, and in places, as at the s. e. corner, the outer enclosure wall, measuring 1.50 m. in thickness, is still standing several courses high. Inasmuch as the s. slope of the hill on which the *qaṣr* is located is the most easily approachable, it is natural to find the entrance into the walled enclosure on this side. It is located near the w. end of the s. outer wall of the enclosure, and some of the stones

of the gate-posts are still in position. There are about half a dozen cisterns on the e. side of the *qaṣr*. The inside of the *qaṣr* ³³⁰ is a maze of fallen walls of rooms, which have been further disturbed by the burial activities of the Bedū, who inter their dead there. Among the ruins, and both inside and outside the enclosed area were found numerous sherds of EI I-II. The fragments of an almost complete EI II cooking pot were found by the gateway. The *qaṣr* was undoubtedly first erected by the Moabites. Quantities of Nabataean sherds of all kinds, including several pieces of sigillata, testify to the subsequent occupancy of the site by the Nabataeans. A small number of early Byzantine sherds was also found there. All of the fortresses and watch-towers for many miles round about are visible from this *qaṣr*. On the neighboring hills are the ruins of small watch-towers, which were probably integrated into the border defence system, of which *Qaṣr el-ʿÂl* was evidently a key-post. From the n. w. to the n. e. are visible ³³¹ the Nabataean acropolis of el-Medeiyineh, the EI and Nabataean es-Sâliyah, the Umayyad (?) *Qaṣr eth-Thrayyâ*, and *Qaṣr eḏ-Ḍirseh*, which is probably a Nabataean watch-tower. To the s. w. and s. s. e. and to the s. e. *Qaṣr Abū el-Kharaq*, *Qaṣūr Besheir*, and several other *qaṣūr* which we did not get to visit, are visible. Guarding the approaches from the east to the fertile lands north and south of the Wādī el-Môjib, *Qaṣr el-ʿÂl* is part of the chain of Moabite fortresses, beginning with the southernmost, ³³² el-Mahaiy, which represents the continuation of the Edomite chain of e. border defences.

About 5 km. s. s. w. of *Qaṣr el-ʿÂl* and visible from it, is *Qaṣr Abū el-Kharaq* ³³³ (148). It is another strongly built and well preserved frontier fortress, situated on a rise, and commanding an excellent view of the countryside round about it. There is no habitation of any kind in the vicinity of these border fortresses today. There was probably never any cultivation of the inhospitable slopes on which most of them are located. Their existence was justified by the police- and military purposes they served. The garrisons stationed there were provisioned from outside, and drew water supplies from their own cisterns. Small flocks of goats may have been maintained by them, in addition to the camels with which they patrolled their districts. *Qaṣr Abū el-Kharaq* is a large, rectangular structure, oriented s. s. w. by n. n. e., and measures 22 by 18 m. Near the e. end of the n. wall of the *qaṣr* is a large, intact doorway, with what may have been a platform in front of it, and steps

³³⁰ For plans of *Qaṣr el-ʿÂl* cf. M, p. 248, fig. 108; PA II, p. 61, fig. 640.

³³¹ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 34-6.

³³² *Bulletin* 65, p. 24; see above p. 73.

³³³ M, pp. 33. 248. 328; PA II, p. 60.

leading up to it (Fig. 38). The w. end of this wall is preserved to a height of 22 courses, which will be well over 8 m. Small stones are placed between the rows of the dry-laid flint blocks to keep them fairly straight. The s. side of the *qaṣr* is equally well preserved. There are traces of plaster on this wall particularly, but also on the other walls. There were also some traces of plaster on the outside of the walls of Qaṣr el-Âl. The plaster seems to have been used to fill the interstices left between the rows of stones and their small stone-fill. Plaster work was common in the Nabataean period, but it



Fig. 38. Qaṣr Abū el-Kharaq, north wall.

would not do to fix a particular site as being Nabataean on that score alone. It is not impossible that such plaster work may also have been used during the EI I-II in Moab and Edom. The corners of the building are constructed in the header and stretcher system, from two to three headers being required, as at Qaṣr el-Âl, to equal the length of a stretcher. Towards the s. end of the w. wall, near the bottom of the wall, is a small opening, leading to an underground passage which turns to the north. Fallen debris prevented a further examination of its course.³³⁴ The w. wall is still 23 courses high. There are traces of some foundation walls of houses in the large courtyard which surrounds three sides of the *qaṣr*, its s. wall joining both ends of the s. wall of the *qaṣr*. A small quantity of Nabataean sherds was found, including a piece of sigillata, indicating that in the Nabataean period Qaṣr

³³⁴ Cf. plan of Kh. Umm el-Qeṣeir, ANNUAL XIV, pp. 10. 89, Pl. 3.

Abū el-Kharaq had played a role in the Nabataean defence system. There was a much larger number of EI I-II sherds, indicating a previous Moabite occupancy of the site. This *qaṣr*, which is one of the most intact in all of Transjordan, was probably built by the Moabites. It was another important unit of the Moabite border defences along their e. frontier, and with Qaṣr el-ʿÂl helped protect the tangent between the main head-waters of the Wādī el-Môjib against incursions from the east. To be noticed in the construction of Qaṣr el-ʿÂl is the way the walls incline inwards, an apparently originally



Fig. 39. Qaṣr Besheir, lk. east.

purposed effect (?) which has been increased by dislocations of the walls due mainly to earthquakes. Our water supply being exhausted, we were unable to spend more than a few minutes at Qaṣr Abū el-Kharaq, during which we did not see any cisterns, which, however, must be there. Some of them may be buried under the debris inside the enclosure, and a longer stay would probably have enabled us to locate several of them.

About 4 km. e. s. e. of Qaṣr Abū el-Kharaq, situated on a rise (778 m.), and visible from Qaṣr el-ʿÂl and Qaṣr Abū el-Kharaq among other places, is the very large ruined caravanserai, which together with the watch-towers in the immediate vicinity is called Quṣūr Besheir. Qaṣr Besheir (149) itself is a very large, rather well preserved fortress-caravanserai, oriented n. e. by s. w., with four corner towers, each three stories high, and a tower on each side of the entrance in the center of the s. w. side. It measures, including the length of the corner towers, 56.75 by 54.45 m., to give the measurements of the n. w.

and n. e. sides as contained in the plan of Domaszewski.³³⁵ The *qaṣr* has been fully described elsewhere.³³⁶ There is a series of rooms, originally two stories high, along the inside face of each wall. On the s. w. side of the *qaṣr*



Fig. 39 a. Lejjûn, Transjordan.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

are several cisterns, and to the west of it a large *birkeh*, which is constructed of very well cut stones. Over the doorway is a Latin inscription according to which the *qaṣr* is described as a “*castra praetorii Mobeni*,” that is, as the

³³⁵ PA II, Pl. XLIII.

³³⁶ M, p. 33; PA II, pp. 48-59.

camp of the praetorium of Moab. According to this inscription the present *qaṣr* was built under Diocletian, and replaced a sort of a rest-house in which government officers could find quarters while on official journeys ³³⁷ (Fig. 39). Practically no sherds were found around the *qaṣr*. Between Qaṣr Abū el-Kharaq and Qaṣr Besheir we passed through fields from which apparently most of the surface stones had at one time or another been removed. It is possible that during one of the periods of settlement in this region, probably during the Nabataean, some dry-farming was carried on. The Roman site



Fig. 40. Qaṣr Rabbah, lk. s. e. (Courtesy George Horsfield).

of Qaṣr Besheir is to be brought into relationship with the great Roman camp known today as el-Lejjûn, ³³⁸ about 18 km. to the s. w. of it (Fig. 39 a).

About half way between Kerak and the Wādī el-Môjib, approximately in the center of the fertile part of this area, is a large ruined Nabataean temple called Qaṣr er-Rabbah ³³⁹ (147). A modern village has grown up around the ruins of the temple, and many of its stones, particularly the ornamental pieces, have been inserted into the rude walls of the modern houses. The temple,

³³⁷ M, pp. 33. 57, n. 3; PA II, p. 58.

³³⁸ ANNUAL XIV, p. 40; PA II, pp. 24-38.

³³⁹ May 18, 1937; PA I, pp. 46-51; BULLETIN 67, p. 16; 69, pp. 9-10; ANNUAL XIV, p. 62.

which compares with the large temple at Dhât Râs in size,³⁴⁰ is built of large, finely cut limestone blocks,³⁴¹ which are being constantly used for modern building operations (Fig. 40). The building is oriented e.-w., and measures 31.60 by 26.90 m.³⁴² The w. and n. sides are well preserved in places to a height of nine courses. Along the top of the walls of the temple and particularly along the e. side there must have been a frieze of sculptures of various



Fig. 41. Gazelle sculpture from Qaşr Rabbah.

(Photographed for A. S. O. R. by courtesy Palestine Archaeological Museum).

kinds. Built as a tetrastyle, there are some of the drums and capitals of four enormous Corinthian columns on the e. side of the vestibule in front of the recessed e. side. The columns measure 1.30 m. in diameter. A main entrance in the recessed e. side and a smaller one to the right of it gave access to the temple proper. There is a similarity in this respect to the entrances in the e. side of the Nabataean temple-court at Kh. et-Tannûr. At either end of the e. side is a corner tower, whose e. sides are parallel with the outer

³⁴⁰ See above pp. 63-5.

³⁴¹ Cf. PA I, p. 46, fig. 33.

³⁴² PA I, pp. 47-8, with a plan on p. 48, fig. 35.

line of the columns. There are slight offsets at the outer corners of the other walls. In the village and police-post close by the ruins of the temple are many of the sculptures which once ornamented it. Stuck into the walls of



Fig. 42. Helios relief from Qaşr Rabbah.

(Photographed for A. S. O. R. by courtesy Palestine Archaeological Museum).

the police-post are several large blocks of an architrave, decorated with floral and leaf designs and the egg and dart motif. A crude water trough has been made out of a fragment of a similarly decorated architrave, which at one time may have rested over the main entrance to the temple. Also stuck into the wall of the police-post is a tremendous stone with a lion-gargoyle, through

whose mouth water once gushed.³⁴³ There are several other lions' heads stuck into the walls of houses in the village, which at one time evidently were used as gargoyles in the temple. Stones drafted in typical Nabataean fashion with lines of cutting at a 45° angle are visible.³⁴⁴ Over the doorway of one of the houses in the village may be seen a winged Eros; a fragment of an architrave(?) with a floral design, and several other ornamental stones. At the left of the doorway is another large fragment of the architrave. A beautiful gazelle sculpture in relief and one of a panther³⁴⁵ are built into other walls of the village (Fig. 41). At the base of an arch inside one of the buildings is another well executed lion's head extending from a decorated block, and opposite it at the base of the other side of the arch a large block with the relief of a bust of Helios-Apollo (Fig. 42), with the sun's rays extending from the sides and top of his head.³⁴⁶ Built into the second arch from the doorway is another relief, so damaged, however, that it is impossible to make out which figure it was supposed to represent. The bare outlines of the head and neck remain, and some of the drapery on the body. In the courtyard in front of this building is a large cornice piece. If a thorough search of all the houses in the village could be made, it is fairly certain that additional architectural pieces decorated with floral patterns or with figures of deities or animals in relief would be found. Near the police-post is a large stone block with a large "sun-flower" panel.

The heads of the lions found at Qaşr er-Rabbah are of exactly the same type as those found at Kh. et-Tannûr and Kh. edh-Dherîh.³⁴⁷ Other similarities to the architecture and sculptures of Kh. et-Tannûr may be seen for instance in the large architrave decorated with the floral design and the egg and dart motif which once rested over the inner shrine of period III at Kh. et-Tannûr,³⁴⁸ the Helios bust in relief, and particularly in the fact that the temple at Qaşr er-Rabbah is oriented east. As in the case of the temple at Kh. et-Tannûr, the sun's rays could then enter through the central, east portal to the inner shrine, which at one time must have been situated inside the temple, and which perhaps could be found, if proper excavations were ever undertaken at this rich and promising site.³⁴⁹ The Helios bust in relief at Qaşr er-Rabbah³⁵⁰ together with the eastern orientation of the temple furnish,

³⁴³ PA I, p. 51, figs. 40, 41.

³⁴⁵ PA I, p. 50, fig. 39.

³⁴⁴ See above p. 16, n. 74.

³⁴⁶ PA I, p. 50, fig. 38.

³⁴⁷ *Bulletin* 67, p. 11, fig. 5 a-b; ILN, Aug. 21, 1937, p. 299, fig. 15, showing lions' heads at ends of torque; Butler, *Syria* II, A, Ill. 326, 338; AJA XLI (1937), p. 373; cf. Wiegand, *Baalbek* I, pl. 13, 60 B; II, pp. 8, fig. 12; 11, fig. 16.

³⁴⁸ *Bulletin* 65, p. 16, fig. 1.

³⁴⁹ *Bulletin* 69, p. 12.

³⁵⁰ *Bulletin* 67, p. 16.

we believe, indisputable evidence also in this place of the nature of the worship and the type of temple it was conducted in, as witnessed in Transjordan by the Nabataean temples particularly at Ramm, the Great High Place of Zibb 'Aṭūf at Petra, and Kh. Tannûr, and by Lucian's description of the temple at Hierapolis.³⁵¹ The fertility character of the cult practised at Qaşr er-Rabbah is, as at Kh. et-Tannûr, indicated also by the frequency of the vine and leaf design in the architectural decorations. The memory of the cultivation of the vine still persists in the name of Beit el-Karm, by which Qaşr er-Rabbah is also known.³⁵² Traces of terraced vineyards can still be seen in the vicinity of Qaşr er-Rabbah.³⁵³ By the time of the construction of the Nabataean temple of Qaşr er-Rabbah, the Nabataeans had abandoned their antipathy to the products of the vine, as thoroughly as they had divested themselves of the nomadic ways which were theirs when they first entered Transjordan. In the 4th century B. C., as we learn from Diodorus,³⁵⁴ the Nabataeans were nomadic Arabs, who, although they already then trafficked in the rich products of Arabia, did not engage in agriculture, lived in tents and not houses, and abhorred the use of wine. They were the descendants of the Rechabites³⁵⁵ in practice, as indeed they may have been partly in blood. By the turn of the era, however, Strabo³⁵⁶ was able correctly to describe the Nabataeans as living in stone houses, being devoted to trade, and engaging in agriculture in a large part of their fertile country. The ban on wine was not only definitely overcome, but wine evidently assumed an important rôle in the ritual. The grape- and vine-motif became one of the most commonly employed in the architectural decoration of the Nabataeans,³⁵⁷ as can be seen at Kh. Brâk,³⁵⁸ el-Bâred,³⁵⁹ Kh. et-Tannûr, Qaşr er-Rabbah, and the Nabataean temples in Syria.³⁶⁰

To judge from the general type and similarities of sculpture, the Corinthian columns, and the massive style of construction, Qaşr er-Rabbah is to be dated at the same time as the third period at Kh. et-Tannûr, and as the time of the construction of the visible temple of Kh. edh-Dherîḥ. We would assign the third period at Kh. et-Tannûr to about the first quarter of the 2nd

³⁵¹ *Bulletin* 69, p. 17; Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, ed. Strong and Garstang, pp. 69-70. 74.

³⁵² PA I, pp. 46-8; II, p. 307.

³⁵³ PA I, p. 48.

³⁵⁵ Jeremiah 35.

³⁵⁴ *Bibliotheca Historica*, XIX, 94-7.

³⁵⁶ *Geography* XVI, 4, 18.

³⁵⁷ AJA XLI (1937), p. 363; see above pp. 45-7.

³⁵⁸ See above p. 45.

³⁵⁹ QDAP VII, 1938, Pl. L.

³⁶⁰ Dunand, *Sou'eida*, Pl. V: 3; VI: 14; IX: 15; XXX: 138. 139; Butler, *Syria* II, A, III. 340-42.

century A. D.³⁶¹ Whether or not there are earlier periods in the history of the construction of Qaşr er-Rabbah than are apparent from the surface ruins,



Fig. 43. Roman road on n. slope of Wādī el-Môjib.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

and which would be parallel to the earlier periods at Kh. et-Tannûr,³⁶² is a matter which can be established only through excavations. The last phase of construction at Kh. et-Tannûr may have never reached its end, to judge

³⁶¹ For the approximate dating of the first two periods at Kh. et-Tannûr, cf. *Bulletin* 69, pp. 10-11. 12-13.

³⁶² *Bulletin* 69, pp. 8-11.

from some unfinished sculptures there. Did the same earthquake which probably brought the final work on the new temple there to an untimely end, also bring about the destruction of Kh. edh-Dherîḥ and Qaṣr er-Rabbah? We have not yet sufficient information to attempt a definitive answer. As has already been pointed out in connection with some of the other Nabataean temples in Transjordan, Qaṣr er-Rabbah indicates again the extraordinary wealth and the highly developed nature of the agricultural civilization of the thickly settled Nabataeans in southern Transjordan. Every county, so to speak, had its own elaborate temple, devoted to phases of the fertility cult and to the Semitic-Hellenistic gods who were worshipped throughout the length and breadth of the ancient Near East.³⁶³

North of the Wādī el-Môjib, a considerable number of sites was visited, which for one reason or another had been missed by previous expeditions of the ASOR archaeological survey. We shall discuss in the following pages first of all the additional sites visited in the area between the Wādī el-Môjib and the Wādī el-Wālā, which in its lower stretch is known as the Seil Heidân, and in its upper stretch is known as the Wādī er-Remeil and the Wādī eth-Themed. Numerous sites were examined also in the area north of the Wādī el-Wālā as far as Mâdebâ. About 3 km. w.-w.n.w. of 'Arâ'ir,³⁶⁴ overlooking the Wādī el-Môjib, is the completely destroyed EB IV—MB I, Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic site of Kh. el-'Aqrabah³⁶⁵ (151). Sherds of these periods were found, including a number of pieces of sigillata. A short distance to the west of this site is a long, fairly flat-topped spur jutting out of the hillside to the south, at the beginning of the descent from the top of the plateau down to the bottom of the Wādī el-Môjib. The new road which is being built through central Transjordan practically on the line of the ancient Roman road, and of the still older EI I-II "King's Highway" (Fig. 43), which in turn probably marked the line of the EB track,³⁶⁶ was being cut around this outspur, leading in a serpentine descent to the *wādī* below. Above the point where the road makes its first bend around the outspur, we found large quantities of EB IV—MB I sherds on the slopes leading to the top of the outspur. The foreman of the road-gang gave me a complete, small, flat-bottomed hand-made jug with one long loop-handle, and wet-smoothed, reddish-buff surface, which his men had dug up while cutting through the hillside at this bend of the road. It can be dated to about the

³⁶³ See above pp. 65-6.

³⁶⁴ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 49-51.

³⁶⁵ Aug. 25, 1936; M, p. 130; PA I, p. 31; II, p. 306.

³⁶⁶ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 3. 4; XV, p. 3.

21st century B.C.^{366a} (Fig. 44). No other complete vessels were found. Absolutely no traces of house- or wall-foundations belonging to this EB site could be found. We assumed that the original EB settlement was situated on the fairly flat top of the outspur, and must be accounted one with Kh. el-'Aqrabah, but nothing remains to testify to its previous existence except the sherds on the slope below it. We shall call this site el-'Aqrabah. The original site, or rather the walls which surrounded the flat top of the outspur, which are about the only remains which are usually to be found of the EB settlements,³⁶⁷ had evidently been completely washed away. Even the soil



Fig. 44. Jug from Kh. el-'Aqrabah.

which had obviously once covered this top had been swept away by the rains of the millennia, when the walls which once protected them had been breached, and then completely broken away. It would also be not at all surprising if the successive Nabataean to mediaeval Arabic settlements at the neighboring site of Kh. el-'Aqrabah had made constant use of the ruins of the EB site as a convenient quarry, until it had been completely despoiled of whatever stones had not been previously washed away.

About 8 km. to the w.-w. n.w., overlooking the beginning of the descent down to the Wâdī el-Môjib, and not far from the beginning of the w. slope

^{366a} Cf. *Bulletin* 71, p. 28, fig. 1. Fisher, *Corpus of Palestinian Pottery, Bronze Age* (to be published), Pl. 55, fig. 3-7, from Beisân.

³⁶⁷ See above pp. 89-92.

down to the Dead Sea, is Kh. Shejeret es-Seḥîleh ³⁶⁸ (154). There are two large *butm* trees there, which make the site a landmark for a distance of many kilometres. A few Nabataean sherds and some fragments of comparatively modern Arabic ware were picked up there. Some ruined walls are visible, among which stands a modern house built out of well cut stones, obviously purloined from some earlier building on the site which has now completely disappeared. On the s. side of the site is a large cistern. Below it to the s. e. there is visible the place of 'Ain el-'Ayenât on the slope leading down to the Wādī el-Môjib.

The opportunity was again taken while in the district to reexamine the tremendous ruins of Dhībân ³⁶⁹ (152), the residence at one time of Mesha, king of Moab, where in 1868 the famous stele in which he describes how Moab regained its independence from Israel was found. Albright had previously found several scraps of EI I ware there, ³⁷⁰ and we had searched in vain on several occasions ³⁷¹ for definitive quantities of Moabite sherds, which had to be somewhere on the site unless the name had shifted from some other mound, or they had been buried under the great masses of debris from subsequent settlements on the site. This time the search was successful. On the n. e. side of the Wādī Dhībân we found large numbers of all kinds of EI I-II sherds. In addition, at this part of the site and elsewhere in its large expanse on top and around the two hillocks on which it is built, we found plain, painted, and rouletted Nabataean sherds, and also Roman sherds, including fragments of sigillata which could have been either Nabataean or Roman. There were also Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. It would seem likely that excavations would also reveal the presence of an EB settlement at Dhībân, which is so strategically located near the s. end of the rich plateau land, bordered on the south by the Wādī el-Môjib, the Biblical Arnôn. It is evident that the EI Dībôn was once enclosed by a great outer wall. The site is full of cistern-caves used during the different periods of its occupation for the storage of water.

About 1.5 km. n. n. w. of Dhībân is edh-Dheheibeh (155), also called edh-Dheibât. It is a small, completely destroyed site, where some Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were picked up. There are three large *butm* trees growing among the ruins. A short distance e.-e. n. e. of edh-Dheheibeh, on the e. side of the Wādī Umm ed-Dakākîn is Rujm Umm ed-Dakākîn (156). It consists of the foundation ruins of two small buildings,

³⁶⁸ M, p. 128.

³⁶⁹ M, p. 377; PA I, pp. 30-31; II, p. 305, fig. 864. 306.

³⁷⁰ *Bulletin* 49, p. 28; 51, p. 12.

³⁷¹ *ANNUAL* XIV, p. 51.

among which were a few Nabataean and Roman sherds. About a kilometre s. w. of Dhībân is es-Sekrân (153), another medium sized, completely ruined Nabataean-Roman site. There are remnants of walls of several large buildings, constructed of flint blocks. There were several very large, well plastered cisterns to be seen there. A small number of worn Nabataean sherds was found.

About 5 km. to the e. n. e. of edh-Dheheibeh, and about 3.5 km. to the n. e. of Dhībân is Meq'ed ibn Neṣrallah ³⁷² (158). Practically all vestiges of the ruins which once marked the place have disappeared. The ancient occupation of the site is, however, testified to by a small quantity of Nabataean sherds of all kinds found there, including several pieces of sigillata. There were also several early Byzantine sherds. There are a few cisterns and cave-cisterns visible. The land round about is somewhat cut by small *wudyân*, and is under cultivation every other year. About 3.5 km. to the e. s. e. is Rejeim Selīm ³⁷³ (157). There is little left of the ancient site there, except a small number of Nabataean, and several mediaeval Arabic sherds. A new house built out of old building blocks, and a large grave mark the site. About 2 km. to the east of Meq'ed ibn Neṣrallah is Qeraiyat Falḥah (160), which consists of a few modern houses set among the ruined foundations of a large ancient settlement. Three km. to the n. w. of Qeraiyat Falḥah is el-Qebeibeh (164). It is a very small ruined site, marked by a large grave and a fairly modern house. A small quantity of Nabataean sherds was found including several pieces of sigillata. About 7 km. to the east is Umm Shejeirât el-Gharbîyeh ³⁷⁴ (159). There is a small modern settlement there, consisting of a dozen houses, built partly out of the stones of the ruined site they supplanted. A few worn Nabataean-Roman sherds were found, in addition to some glazed and painted mediaeval Arabic sherds. 1.5 km. to the s. s. w. of it is Kh. el-Qahqeh ³⁷⁵ (161). It is a fairly extensive ruin, overlooking the Wādī Qahqeh. Umm er-Raṣāṣ is visible from it to the e. s. e. The *wādī* cuts around most of the knoll on which the site is located, leaving a landbridge only on the s. s. w. side. Some Nabataean sherds, including several pieces of sigillata, were found, and also several painted and glazed mediaeval Arabic sherds. Less than 2 km. e.-e. n. e. of Qahqeh is 'Aleiyân ³⁷⁶ (162). It is an extensive ruin on top of a high hill. There is very little left of it, except a number of large foundation walls, traces of terracing on the hillsides, and a low mound on the top of the hill, which is oriented n. w. by s. e. To the s. e. of this

³⁷² Sept. 3, 1936.

³⁷³ M, p. 131.

³⁷⁴ M, pp. 131. 245. 246.

³⁷⁵ M, p. 111.

³⁷⁶ M, p. 245.

mound, at the s. e. end of the hilltop, is another and smaller mound. On the top of the hill and particularly on the s. e., s. and s. w. slopes of the hill were found quantities of EI I-II sherds, including some particularly fine painted ware. In addition there was a considerable quantity of Nabataean sherds. Just which of the mounds was originally EI and which Nabataean, if indeed both were not occupied in the two periods, is impossible to say now, at least without excavations. It is evident, however, that in both periods there were thriving settlements on the site. The hill is bounded on the e. n. e. by the Wādī Ṣāfiyet el-Ghazāl, on the n. w. by the Wādī Umm Shejeirah, and on the w. and s. w. by a small *wādī* which turns into the Wādī Umm Shejeirah. 'Aleiyân seems to be the farthest east EI site at this point, and continues thus the line of EI sites north of the Mōjib on the e. side of the n. half of Moab, marked by Sāliyah and Jemeil.³⁷⁷ About 1.5 km. to the n. w. of 'Aleiyân, and visible from it, is Umm Shejeirat esh-Sherqīyah (163). It is a fairly extensive, much ruined site, which has been cut into destructively in modern times to provide stones for sheep-folds. Parts of a large, ancient building still remain, hidden for the most part under large and small flint blocks and chips. A *butm* tree is growing among the ruins on the s. e. side, overlooking the Wādī Umm Shejeirah. On this side in particular there were found numerous Nabataean sherds, and several pieces of sigillata. In addition, some Byzantine, and some glazed and painted mediaeval Arabic sherds were found on the site. The site of Qahqeh is visible to the s. s. w.

About half way between el-Kôm and er-Remeil are the Rujûm el-'Aliyâ (175). At first a rude, ancient stone circle was encountered, which is 7 m. in diameter. No sherds were visible near it. It may have been a small threshing floor in ancient times. Less than half a kilometre due north of it are the foundation remains of a rectangular blockhouse, built of large, rude, irregularly hewn flint and limestone blocks. It is oriented n. n. e. by s. s. w., and measures approximately 9.60 by 9 m. Immediately by it are the foundation walls of several houses. Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found by this ruin, including some pieces of fine sigillata. About a quarter of a kilometre to the n. n. w. is a still larger ruin, in even a more dilapidated state. To the n. n. e. of it, er-Remeil is visible. Piles of building stones alone remain to testify to the presence of the former site. There are numerous caves in the immediate vicinity, some of which were evidently used at one time as cisterns. Large numbers of EI I-II sherds of all types were found by this *rujm*. While there is no cultivation around the Rujûm 'Aliyâ now, it is evident that in the EI and Nabataean periods extensive cultivation was carried on, to judge from the

³⁷⁷ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 34-7; see above pp. 69. 103.

fields which have obviously been cleaned of many of the surface stones, and by the retaining and boundary walls which can be seen every now and then while traversing them.

About 4 km. w.s.w. of el-Medeiyineh in the Wādī eth-Themed³⁷⁸ is er-Remeil³⁷⁹ (176), overlooking the Wādī er-Remeil from the south. The Wādī er-Remeil is the western continuation of the Wādī eth-Themed, which before its course is run westward undergoes two more name changes, being known still farther on as the Wādī el-Wālā and then as the Seil Heidān. Situated on a high point, er-Remeil is visible for many kilometres round about. It is one of the most, if not the most perfectly preserved example of an EI I-II fortress placed in a strongly walled compound that we have thus far discovered in all of our explorations in Eastern Palestine. It was a fortress, but more than a fortress. It was a strongly fortified village really, with a central blockhouse, a very strong surrounding outer wall, and with a considerable number of houses built against the wall on the inside, facing the dominating central structure of the fortress. In related places which we have come across one can make out the outlines of the fortress and see that there are near it the remains of the foundations of houses, and sometimes around the entire site the remains of an outer wall, enclosing houses and fortress.³⁸⁰ The complete plan of er-Remeil is preserved. The strong outer wall is apparently about 2.10 m. thick and is built of large, roughly hewn flint blocks which are, however, smaller than those used in the fortress proper. In places it is still about 3 m. high, and at one time must have been considerably higher, to judge from the masses of fallen blocks by it, and have formed a very formidable barrier around the houses and fortress inside of it. The outer wall, which surrounds the eminence on which the settlement was located and follows its contours, has a more or less ovoid shape, with the least rounded side immediately overlooking the Wādī er-Remeil. This, the n. side of the enclosing wall, is also the least well preserved side, although its length can also be easily followed. The steepest slope of the hill leads down beneath this n. side of the wall to the small flat plain at the foot of the hill, around which the Wādī er-Remeil bends, and which at one time was obviously cultivated. All around the other sides of the wall, a ditch or dry moat had been dug, which served to make the wall even higher in effect than it actually was.³⁸¹ It will be remembered that this technique of trenching around the outer wall of a site was also employed at the neighboring site of el-Medeiyineh in the

³⁷⁸ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 13-15. 22-5.

³⁷⁹ M, pp. 1. 13. 251; PA I, p. 27; Sept. 4, 1936.

³⁸⁰ See above pp. 102-4.

³⁸¹ See above pp. 44, n. 133; 62.

Wâdî eth-Themed, which from the air looks for all the world like photographs of Maiden Castle in England (Fig. 45). The dry moat on the e. side has been cut through the solid rock, where the slope is comparatively gentle, and



Fig. 45. el-Medeiyinch in Wâdî Themed, lk. s. s. w.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

hence added protection against attack was imperative. It is 4 m. wide; its depth cannot be determined properly because of the fallen building blocks which clutter up much of it. There can, however, be no question but that this moat is an artificial one, and not only served the purpose of cutting off the site from too easy access, but also helped obviate, or at least made much more

difficult, the process of mining underneath the walls of the site. The dry moat on the w. side also served to help cut off the outer wall of the fortress-complex from the gentle slope, which descends slowly for several hundred metres, before plunging down swiftly to the plain at the bottom of the hill. Looking north through part of the moat on this side, one can see in the distance to the north Qaṣr ez-Zaʿferān.³⁸² The dry moat continues its circle around from the e. to the w. side, but is not as deep apparently on the s. side as at the e. and w. approaches to the outer wall. In addition, below the s. w. side of the hill, is a small *wādī* which curves around and joins the Wādī er-Remeil, and also below the e. side of the hill is a somewhat similar little dry *wādī*, which helps isolate the fortress hill. The extreme measurements of the enclosed area, which is oriented approximately e.-w., are about 115 by 70 m. At the n. e. and s. w. angles of the enclosure are, apparently, gateways, through which entrances are effected today. From these entrance ways, tracks have been worn to the central fortress building by Bedū, who bury their dead inside its walls and underneath its debris, and who on occasion bring their flocks inside the enclosure at night-time for shelter. It is difficult to establish now, without some excavation, whether or not the opening at the s. w. angle is a real gateway or simply a fortuitous one as a result of the collapse of the wall at this point. It would appear that a gateway would be necessary there to afford immediate access to the comparatively level stretch on the w. and s. w. sides of the enclosure where, as may be seen from the ruins of large walled sheep-folds and goat-pens, and perhaps enclosed threshing floors, at one time considerable activity took place. There was also a considerable number of houses outside the outer wall, to judge from the foundations visible on the s. and e. sides and particularly on the w. side of er-Remeil. There is, however, no question about the existence of a proper gateway at the n. e. angle of the outer wall. The n. e. gateway situated at the point affording direct access to the countryside to the south of er-Remeil, was evidently at one time a quite imposing one. Its clear outlines could not be seen, but excavations will certainly reveal them. It seems that the approach to the gateway was first of all masked by a wall built in front of it, compelling entrance from the n. and s. sides, roughly speaking. The actual gateway is flanked by two towers, the one on the n. e. side being the comparatively best preserved. It is oriented e. n. e. by w. s. w., and measures about 6.50 by 5.50 m. Even after passing these towers, one did not gain access immediately to the fortress-compound. There are two more right angle turns which had to be taken, as near as can be judged from the debris which blocks the entrance way, before the entrance

³⁸² ANNUAL XIV, pp. 30-31.

way could be completely negotiated.³⁸³ Once inside the fortress-compound, one finds oneself among a confusing maze of ruined house-foundations, which, however, assume a semblance of reasonable order when viewed from the air. Particularly noticeable is the large empty space inside the compound, immediately in front of the n. side of the fortress proper, and overlooking the steep descent leading down to the once cultivated small plain, formed by a bend in the Wādī er-Remeil, which borders it on the north and bends around it to the s.s.w. This space was an open one when life throbbed at er-Remeil. One can imagine that it was here that the community assembled for public purposes, and the judges sat in their seats and listened to the complaints of the villagers and the pleas of the travellers who used the well worn track that connected er-Remeil with the EI sites in the neighborhood. A well used track crosses the plain below er-Remeil today, and leads directly to Qaşr ez-Zaferân which can be seen to the north, on the top of the broken plateau land on the far side of the Wādī er-Remeil. Inside of the enclosure are the remains of several cisterns and cave-cisterns, and probably others are buried under the debris. On the w. side of the outer wall there are over ten cisterns and cave-cisterns, and there are also numerous cave-cisterns on the s. and e. sides. In this wise the community of er-Remeil provided itself with water in a district where there are comparatively few springs. The dominant feature of er-Remeil is the fortress itself. Oriented s.-w., it measures 18.90 by 15 m. Its walls are 1.50 m. thick, and are built of large flint blocks. Although much ruined, it is still some 6 m. high. The corners are laid in the typical EI I-II header and stretcher system, with large blocks being used for the purpose. Thus the lowest stretcher in the n.e. corner of the n. wall measures 2.05 by .55 by .35 m. Despite the constant grubbing that goes on inside of its ruins for burial purposes, this central building is sufficiently intact to furnish, I believe, a rather complete plan of its rooms, if they could be cleared of the fallen stones which at the present obliterate their precise outlines. There is also clear evidence that originally a glaçis was built against the walls of the fortress, lending further strength to this strongly built structure. Remnants of the glaçis are visible particularly on the e. side of the building (Fig. 46). Large quantities of EI I-II sherds of all kinds were found inside and outside of the ruins of er-Remeil, including numerous painted sherds of particularly fine quality. Er-Remeil and particularly el-Medeiyineh may be regarded as forming the continuation of the line of

³⁸³ Albright, APB, ed. 3, pp. 118-9; Guy, *New Light from Armageddon*, O. I. C. 9, pp. 24-7; Woolley and Lawrence, *Carcemish*, Part II, p. xii; Wood, *The Evolution of Systems of Defence in Palestine*, *Journal of Bible and Religion* V: 3, p. 135.

e. frontier defences that we have been tracing along the e. border of Moab. They, however, together with Sâliyah, Jemeil, 'Aleiyân, and Rujm el-'Aliyâ, are not in unfertile districts, and were in their day dependent upon the



Fig. 46. er-Remeil, lk. n. w.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

cultivation of the soil of the areas they guarded, which today are largely uncultivated and completely uninhabited. They indicate at once the thickness of settlement and the advanced stage of civilization in this area during the Early Iron Age. They point out also what must be becoming increasingly clear to the reader at this stage of the report, that the strength of the kingdom

of Moab stood not in the least behind that of the kingdom of Edom,³⁸⁴ and that both Edom and Moab were as thickly settled and well organized as the sister kingdoms of Judah and Israel on the w. side of the Jordan. It can be emphasized again at this point, that so far as physical, material civilization is concerned—and by that we mean houses, fortresses, cisterns, agriculture, pottery, industrial and commercial activities of all kinds, and one may also say writings, to judge from the increasing number of inscriptions which are being found in Transjordan—Edom and Moab, and, as we shall see, also 'Ammôn and the kingdoms of Gilead, were certainly not inferior to Israel and Judah. Indeed, with the progress of this survey, our wonder increases that these highly developed kingdoms on the e. side of the Jordan should have disappeared so completely into limbo.

About 3 km. s.w. of er-Remeil is el-Kôm (174). It is a fairly well preserved blockhouse, comparable to that at er-Remeil. Oriented n. and s., it measures 22 by 15.70 m., and occupies a commanding position overlooking the Wâdī el-Buṭm. The s. wall of the *qaṣr* is the least well preserved. Close to the *qaṣr* are the foundation remains of several smaller buildings, all of which, including the *qaṣr*, may at one time have been contained in a walled compound, as at er-Remeil. The presence nearby of a small village with the same name explains partly why the ruins around the *qaṣr* have practically disappeared. Their stones have been taken in part for the construction of the rude houses in the village. Below the n.e. corner of the *qaṣr* are the foundation ruins of a building, with traces of vault construction. Most of the sherds found on the e. and n. slopes below the *qaṣr* leading down to the Wâdī el-Buṭm belong to the Early Iron Age. There were large quantities of these, including numerous particularly fine painted specimens. There were also Nabataean sherds of all kinds, although in much smaller numbers, and including several pieces of sigillata. Some of the EI sherds were found inside the ruins of the *qaṣr*. Its walls were evidently strengthened during the Early Iron Age to which it belongs by a glacis built against its sides, parts of which are still visible against the n. and w. sides of the building. It is possible that the Nabataeans may have used some of the stones from the EI buildings they took over for the erection of some of their own buildings. Several cisterns are visible, and we were told of the presence of a spring nearby, which, however, we were unable to examine because of the particularly pestiferous nature of the inhabitants of the modern village.

About 2 km. to the w.n.w. of el-Kôm is 'Amūrīyā (173), overlooking the Wâdī el-'Amūrīyā. It is marked by a small, much ruined blockhouse

³⁸⁴ ANNUAL XV, p. 139.

on top of a small, flat-topped hill, and is constructed of rude flint blocks. There is a considerable number of flint block foundation-walls on the flat top of the hill, in addition to the ruin of the small blockhouse, and there are other foundation ruins on the slopes below it. Among these ruins are caves which were converted into cisterns by plastering their interiors with several layers of plaster; and a number of rock-cut cisterns. A considerable quantity of painted Nabataean sherds was found, including some sigillata fragments.

Between el-Qeibebeh and el-Kôm is a small, completely destroyed site, called el-Hashshash³⁸⁵ (172). No sherds were found, but the site made the appearance of being Nabataean, to judge from similar sites throughout southern Transjordan, where, however, quantities of Nabataean sherds have been found.

W. s. w. of el-Qeibebeh is another completely destroyed Nabataean site, called Dohfereh³⁸⁶ (165), overlooking the Wâdī es-Sidreh. Here and there are a few foundations to indicate the presence of a former settlement, and a small number of Nabataean sherds to fix in a general way the period of its history. The usual cisterns and cave-cisterns potmark the site. The Roman road north from Dhībân to the Wâdī el-Wâlâ is still in considerable part quite clearly marked, not only by milestones, but by stretches of the roadway itself. In places the modern automobile track crosses and recrosses it, although for the most part the line of the Roman road is somewhat higher, and to the east of the modern road.³⁸⁷ Almost due north of Dhībân, at the n. end of the plateau before the descent down the s. side of the Wâdī el-Wâlâ begins, is Rujm Abū Sighân,³⁸⁸ also known as Rujm ez-Zakîbah (166). It commands an excellent view over much of the length of the Wâdī el-Wâlâ, and looks down directly over Kh. Iskander to the n. n. w., and over Rujm Mleḥleb to the n. e., both of them on the n. side of the Wâdī el-Wâlâ. Rujm Abū Sighân represents the ruin of a small fortress. It is oriented s. s. w. by n. n. e., and is approximately 10.30 m. square. It is in an exceedingly ruinous state, but at one time was evidently a strong post, against the sides of which furthermore a glaçis was originally built. Remains of this can be seen on all sides of the building. At the n. w. corner, the base of the glaçis at the present time is 1.50 m. removed from the corner of the n. and w. walls of the building itself. Immediately s. e. of the fortress is a large cistern. A *butm* tree is growing among the fallen stones at the s. w. corner of the

³⁸⁵ M, p. 245.

³⁸⁶ M, p. 129.

³⁸⁷ ZDPV XL, p. 142, pl. I; PA I, p. 470; II, pp. 305-6; ME II: 1, pp. 30-2; II: 2, pp. 15-16; ANNUAL XV, p. 71, n. 190; see above p. 48, n. 151.

³⁸⁸ Aug. 25, 1936; PA II, p. 305.

ruins. Some rude walls have been built roughly around the site, but belong to a comparatively modern period. Only a few scraps of worn EI sherds were found, most of them having been washed off the slopes of the eminence on which the fortress is built. Even without any sherds, however, it would be possible to designate Rujm Abū Sighân as belonging to the Early Iron Age, because of its similarity in construction to Rujm Mleḥleb, below it on the n. side of the Wādī el-Wālā, which, as we shall see shortly, is also an EI site. Rujm Abū Sighân was the fortress guarding the "king's highway,"



Fig. 47. Outlines of Kh. Iskander on n. side Wādī Wālā.

which obviously began its descent down the s. side of the Wādī el-Wālā at this point and ascended on the n. side by Rujm Mleḥleb. In addition to the EI sherds, a small quantity of Nabataean and Roman sherds was found. The Roman road runs a short distance to the east of this site, below the hill on which it was built.

On the n. side of the Wādī el-Wālā, as we have seen, is Rujm Mleḥleb³⁸⁹ (167). The modern road passes a few hundred metres distant from it to the west. Rujm Mleḥleb is situated on a fairly high hill, directly overlooking the Wādī el-Wālā. The slope on its s. side leading down to the Wādī el-Wālā is quite steep. On the other sides, the slopes are more gradual. Seen from the distance, the *rujm* appears like a fairly intact fortress, particularly when viewed from near the top of the plateau north of it, from which the road

³⁸⁹ Aug. 21, 1936; M, p. 244; PA II, p. 326.

descends in swift curves down to the Wādī el-Wālā. As one crosses the small plain which surrounds the hill on all sides except the south, and climbs to the top of the hill, the outlines of the *rujm* tend to become blurred by reason of the masses of building blocks which have either fallen or been torn from its walls. However, particularly when seen from the air, one can make out the outlines of the walls, and some of the room divisions between them. A typical example of the use to which ancient ruins are modernly put is furnished by the ruin of a fairly modern, now roofless building, immediately east of the *rujm*, every stone of which has been purloined from the old fortress. Were a half a dozen more such buildings to be constructed out of the material taken from Rujm Mleḥleb, little would be left of it to indicate that once a Moabite fortress had stood there to guard an important stretch of the "king's highway." Rujm Mleḥleb is oriented w.n.w. by e.n.e., and is approximately 26 m. square. Parts of the glacis which was built against its walls are still visible. Beyond the e. wall of the *rujm* there extends an open space of about 100 m. in length, at the beginning of which is the modern building mentioned above. In this space are the foundations of other buildings, which evidently also belonged to the same time as the main *rujm* itself. Like it, they are constructed of rough flint blocks and boulders. There are sufficient traces of a wall on the sides of this open space to make it probable that it was once enclosed with a strong wall, the w. end of which was formed by the fortress building. At the e. end of this comparatively open space, where the hill curves and narrows to a dull point and then descends precipitously to the Wādī el-Wālā, which bends by the hill at this point, are not only the clear remains of the e. end of the compound wall, at this side about 31 m. long, but also traces of two towers, which guarded against surprise attack at this end of the hill. The average width of the compound, which extends north and south of the w. wall of the *rujm*, is about 43 m. It will be seen that the general plan of Rujm Mleḥleb is somewhat similar to that of Qaṣr el-Āl,³⁹⁰ to pick out a particularly well preserved Moabite fortress, placed at one end of the compound it directly guarded. The entire top of the hill also to the west of the compound and the fortress, as well as its sides, were at one time strongly terraced. The line of the n. wall of the compound is continued almost to the very w. end of the hill, and seems to have served as a terrace wall. On the n. slope of the hill, leading down to the plain that separated it from the beginning of the steep ascent to the top of the plateau north of it, are two large caves, which at one time may have been used as cave-cisterns. Between them is a large, rock-cut ancient

³⁹⁰ See above pp. 101-3.

cistern. The inhabitants of Rujm Mleḥleb were, however, never at a loss for water, because there is a perennial flow in the Wādī el-Wālā along this stretch. In addition to the architectural features of Rujm Mleḥleb, which stamp it as belonging to the Early Iron Age, a small quantity of EI I-II sherds was found, which alone would have testified to the existence of an EI site there, although not necessarily to the fact that the present ruin originated in that age. Rujm Mleḥleb and Rujm Abū Sighân occupied strategic positions along the ancient highway which traversed the length of central Moab and continued south to 'Aqabah and north to Syria, as we have seen, in every historical period of which there is evidence in Transjordan. They guarded the ford crossing the Wādī el-Wālā, at one of the places where it can be easily crossed. They also served as way-stations for the caravan-trade that coursed along the length of this highway.³⁹¹

W. n. w. of Rujm Mleḥleb, and less than half a kilometre to the west of the new road, at a point where coming from the north it fords the Wādī el-Wālā, is Kh. Iskander³⁹² (168). It is a large, low, completely destroyed mound, with its s. side reaching to the very edge of the n. bank of the Wādī el-Wālā, which at this point has been sliced away straight and steep by the continuously flowing stream in the *wādī*. The ruins are located partly between and partly beyond two small *wudyân*, which coming from the north join the Wādī el-Wālā (Fig. 47). The w. section of the ruins seems to be the most important.³⁹³ It is on a rise, cut off sharply as we have seen on the south by the steep bank of the Wādī el-Wālā, and on the east almost equally steeply by the small *wādī* which, as we have seen runs along its e. side. The w. side of the main section of Kh. Iskander on this rise is cut off from the hill which rises to the west of it by a wide depression, which runs along the entire w. side of the rise and from the air makes the appearance of a wide, deep moat. The n. side of the rise is similarly cut off from the rising slope beyond it. Seen from the air, the outlines of the site are very clear. The entire area of this rise is still enclosed with the remnants of a great, strong wall, and measures about 150 m. square. It is divided into two roughly equal halves by an e.-w. wall through the enclosed area. There are traces of large square towers at each of the four corners of the enclosed square compound, and also near the middle of each wall. The walls are built of roughly hewn flint blocks. The n. wall is about the best preserved one, and measures 1.70 m. thick. There are clear foundation remains of houses built against the n. wall, inside the enclosure, with less clear traces of houses against the

³⁹¹ M, p. 244; PA I, p. 30.

³⁹² M, pp. 111, 244; Aug. 20, 1936.

³⁹³ See Fig. 47.

inside faces of the other walls. The small plain to the north of the site, which soon merges with the slope that rises to the hill above it, also has some remains of ancient foundation ruins. East of this main walled area is another fully as large, located between the two small parallel *wudyân*, and which furthermore extends somewhat beyond the eastern of the two *wudyân*. In this area there are some foundation remains of houses(?), but for the most part it is dotted with menhir-circles and large standing or fallen menhirs, all of which give this area the appearance of a tremendous ancient cemetery. Near the s. w. end of this area are several of these stone circles, about 3 m. in diameter, and others nearby of from 1.50 to 1.80 m. in diameter. Near the n. w. end of this area are two large stone circles, measuring approximately 5.50 m. in diameter. The individual menhirs measure on the average 1.70 by .45 by .30 m. The actual length of these stones is greater, because they are deeply sunk into the soil. In the same area are numerous large menhirs, most of which have fallen to the ground. One of them, a great flint monolith is 4 m. long, measures 1.30 m. wide at its base, and tapers at its top to a width of .65 m. It is .50 m. thick. Some of the stone circles in this area are placed over strongly built stone platform foundations. In this area of stone circles and single menhirs were numerous EB IV—MB I sherds, but large quantities of them were found in and around the great walled area on the rise to the west of it. Kh. Iskander was a large settlement, which in its day controlled the track leading to and across the Wâdī el-Wâlā. The site is hardly distinguishable at first, particularly when approached from the east, but it revealed its presence through the numerous sherds strewn over the surface. We actually found it while carefully examining the length of the Wâdī el-Wâlā west of Rujm Mleḥleb for a Roman bridge, which was once seen in the vicinity.³⁹⁴ Kh. Iskander marks a direct continuation of the long line of EB sites which stretched throughout the entire length of Trans-jordan. The area of Kh. Iskander extended at one time apparently on both sides of the Wâdī el-Wâlā. Immediately opposite the walled area of Kh. Iskander, on the s. side of the *wâdī*, are cultivated fields. At the e. end of these fields, however, just west of the point on the s. side of the Wâdī el-Wâlā where the new road crosses the stream and begins the ascent to the south, there stands an imposing menhir. It is a very large, limestone monolith, and is oriented n. n. w. by s. s. e. Another one is half buried in the ground to the e. n. e. The standing menhir is about 3 m. high. To be more exact, measuring from the present level of the ground into which its base is sunk for perhaps at least as much as another half a metre, on the

³⁹⁴ PA I, pp. 22-3; *Bulletin* 65, p. 28.

n. side it is 2.82 m. high, and on the s., 3.02 m. high; it is 1.60 m. wide at the base, 1.35 m. wide at a height of 1 m., 1.10 m. wide at the height of 2 m., and about .85 wide at the top; it has an average thickness of about .30 m. No sherds were found by these two menhirs, but as we have seen, they are not isolated examples, but are a part of a large field of them on the n. side of the Wâdī el-Wâlā, immediately to the n.w. of these two. The menhirs, both on the n. and s. sides of the Wâdī el-Wâlā, and particularly the one on the s. side, because it happens to be in position, have a striking resemblance to the menhir at Ader and to the Ḥajr Maṣṣūb at el-Megheirât, although the Iskander menhirs have not the grooves across their faces as on those at Ader and el-Megheirât.³⁹⁵ When one considers in this connection also the *sarābīt* discovered at el-Lejjûn below the EB site there³⁹⁶ and those found by Albright and Kyle at the EB sanctuary of Bâb edh-Dhrâ,³⁹⁷ it will be seen that all such *sarābīt* in southern Transjordan belong to the EB IV—MB I period (Fig. 48).

About 1.5 km. farther down the Wâdī el-Wâlā, at the point where the stream-bed narrows and the water has cut deep grooves in the rock for its flow, is situated a small, completely destroyed, Nabataean-Roman-Byzantine site, called Kh. Taḥûnet el-Wâlā (169). A few worn sherds of these periods were found. In the ruins of a comparatively modern building there, which was once used as a mill, may be seen many building blocks, which were taken from a previous Nabataean-Roman building. It too may have served as a mill, whose wheels were turned by the flow of the stream, which has a swift current at this point of the Wâdī el-Wâlā.

Immediately to the west of Kh. Taḥûnet el-Wâlā, across the small Wâdī Abū Khirqeh³⁹⁸ which joins the Wâdī el-Wâlā, on the bottom slope of the hill known as Qanân el-Âsī,³⁹⁹ is another large site, which can be dated no later than EB IV. For want of a better name we shall call it Kh. Abū Khirqeh (170). It is a large site, but has been so completely ploughed over and generally torn up, that practically nothing remains except a few fragments of walls protruding above the surface of the ground, particularly on the s.e. slope just above the point where the Wâdī Abū Khirqeh joins the Wâdī el-Wâlā. These walls were made of large, roughly hewn flint blocks. Numerous sherds were found, belonging to EB IV—MB I, having proved, as is usually the case, to be more indestructible than the great walls and strong houses which were built when the EB pottery was fashioned. The location

³⁹⁵ *Bulletin* 65, p. 27; ANNUAL XIV, pp. 46-7.

³⁹⁶ ANNUAL XIV, p. 45.

³⁹⁷ *Bulletin* 14, p. 10.

³⁹⁸ PA I, p. 21.

³⁹⁹ M, p. 127.

of this large EB site above a strong source of water, and on the slope of a hill, reminds one of the location of the EB site of el-Lejjûn.⁴⁰⁰ Near the top of the high hill called Qanân el-Âsî, is a small, indistinguishable ruin, and on the very top an ancient stone circle about 5 m. in diameter. The



Fig. 48. Menhir at Kh. Iskander.

Roman road coming from Libb reaches the Wâdî el-Wâlâ, descending from the plateau on a line partly paralleling the Wâdî Abū Khirqeh. Descending on horseback from Libb to the Wâdî el-Wâlâ, we came across broken parts of eleven Roman milestones at a place about 4 km. north of Kh. Abū Khirqeh, where there is a well-preserved stretch of the Roman road.⁴⁰¹ There were

⁴⁰⁰ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 44-5.

⁴⁰¹ PA I, pp. 21-2; II, p. 305.

some Roman sherds on the ground. About a kilometre farther s. w., on the top of a hill overlooking the Wādī Abū Khirgeh, we came upon a small completely ruined Roman post, with a small number of Roman sherds by it. We were unable to find traces of the Roman bridge reported by Domaszewski⁴⁰² among others, which evidently crossed the Wādī el-Wālā close by Kh. Taḥūnet el-Wālā. Several hundred metres east of the point where the modern road crosses the Wādī el-Wālā, and east of where the large menhir stands on the s. side of the *wādī*, are the remnants of a bridge, known as the Ḥāj bridge, which does not look Roman but comparatively modern. Large sections of the bridge made of great blocks of large and small stones cemented together are now lying in the stream bed. About 3 km. south of the menhir on the s. side of the Wādī el-Wālā, following the new road which leads to Dhībān, and which in considerable parts of its length either parallels or crosses or even is built over portions of the old Roman road, are the remains of six Roman milestones on the right side of the road and in the depression below it.⁴⁰³

Following a well marked track from Dhībāh, we crossed the Seil Ḥeidān, the w. continuation of the Wādī el-Wālā, to el-Qereiyāt on its n. side. Both the descent and the ascent were very steep, so much so that one of the underfed pack horses which we had been compelled to take with us collapsed under its load when near the top of the ascent on the n. side of the Seil Ḥeidān, and started rolling down the hillside. This place is about 9 km. in a straight line w. n. w. of Dhībān. El-Qereiyāt⁴⁰⁴ (171) is a large, completely destroyed site on an eminence, with a few modern, rude buildings set among the ruins. The site is marked from the distance by a large *buṭm* tree on its n. e. side. The level stretch around the base of the hill, the slopes, and the top of the hill are covered with ruins, among which are numerous cisterns. In one of the ruined buildings on the e. s. e. side over a doorway is an architrave with a Byzantine cross on it. A few scraps of painted Nabataean and Roman ware were found, and also some Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds, beside numerous modern sherds. In other words, there has been a continuous occupation of el-Qereiyāt from about the first century B. C. down to our day. The region round about the site is cultivated.

About 6 km. w. n. w. of el-Qereiyāt in a straight line is el-Mekāwer⁴⁰⁵ (178), which has been correctly identified with Machaerus,⁴⁰⁶ infamous because of

⁴⁰² PA I, pp. 22-3; II, p. 305.

⁴⁰³ For the inscriptions on these milestones see PA I, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁰⁴ Aug. 22, 1936; M, pp. 133. 242; PA II, p. 304.

⁴⁰⁵ M, pp. 21. 96-7. 112. 134. 237. 252; Abel, RB VI (1909), pp. 386-96; *Géographie de la Palestine* II, pp. 154. 158. 186.

⁴⁰⁶ Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien* II, p. 330; IV, p. 378.

the execution there of John the Baptist by Herod Antipas.⁴⁰⁷ It was first fortified by Alexander Jannaeus (106-79 B. C.), and rebuilt and fortified by Herod the Great after it had been destroyed by Gabinius.⁴⁰⁸ After the death of Herod the Great, Machaerus was inherited by Herod Antipas, who had John the Baptist put to death there.⁴⁰⁹ It was subsequently again occupied by the Romans, who withdrew in 66 A. D. at the beginning of the Revolt and once more reoccupied it after the fall of Jerusalem. It was finally destroyed by L. Bassus.⁴¹⁰ Josephus gives an excellent description of Machaerus as rebuilt and refortified by Herod the Great.⁴¹¹ According to Pliny, Machaerus was next to Jerusalem the strongest fortress in Palestine.⁴¹² Situated on a hill at the w. edge of the plateau, overlooking the descent to the Dead Sea, which is visible from it, Machaerus does indeed occupy a strong position. There is little left of the massive buildings which once crowned the hill and the edge of the plateau, except an impressive spread of foundation ruins. Almost every house seems to have had its own cistern. There are certainly a hundred cisterns among the ruins, and as many again in the fields between el-Qereiyât and el-Mekâwer. A few of them have been cleaned out and repaired, and were full of water at the time of our visit to the site in August, 1936. Only a small portion of the extensive ancient fields and gardens around el-Mekâwer, which stretch all the way to el-Qereiyât, are worked nowadays. Between these two sites there is a maze of garden and terrace walls, and it is obvious that at the times of the occupation of el-Qereiyât and el-Mekâwer, the w. highland plateau was intensively cultivated by a large and industrious population. This is in striking contrast to the abandoned condition of much of this area today. With the garden and terrace walls in it now neglected for centuries, much of the good earth of this area has been washed away, exposing the naked and ugly rock beneath it. A few modern houses have been built among, and out of the ruins at Machaerus.⁴¹³ A direct track leads to Machaerus from Hammâm Zerqâ Mâ'in, and thence to Libb and Dhibân.⁴¹⁴ The ground at el-Mekâwer has been so considerably chopped up that comparatively few sherds were found there in comparison

⁴⁰⁷ Mt. 14, 3 f.; Mk. 6, 14 f.; Josephus, *Antiquities* XVIII 5.2.

⁴⁰⁸ Josephus, *BJ*, VII, 6. 2; I, 8. 5; *Antiquities* XIV, 5. 4.

⁴⁰⁹ *Antiquities*, XVIII, 5.2; Mk. 6, 21.

⁴¹⁰ *BJ*, II, 18. 6; VII, 6. 4-5; Abel, *Une Croisière autour de la Mer Morte*, pp. 35-37; RB VI (1909), pp. 386-96.

⁴¹¹ *BJ*, VII, 6. 2.

⁴¹² *Historia Naturalis* V, 16. 72.

⁴¹³ Tristram, *The Land of Moab*, p. 260, gives a rough plan of Machaerus.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. M, p. 112.

with the extent of the ruins. There was a small quantity of fine Nabataean ware of all kinds, and also of some coarse Nabataean ware, in addition to larger quantities of early Roman ware and sigillata. There were also early Byzantine sherds, and some mediaeval Arabic glazed sherds. Abel mentions the presence of two ruined churches.⁴¹⁵ The best description of the position of Machaerus is given by Josephus,⁴¹⁶ according to whom:

"the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety to those that possessed it; as well as delay and fear to those that should attack it; for what was walled in was itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a very great height, which circumstances alone made it very hard to be subdued."

All of the site of Machaerus was not limited to the area on and around the hill on the w. edge of the plateau. It included also the fairly flat top of the very steep hill immediately opposite el-Mekâwer to the west, which is called el-Meshneqeh⁴¹⁷ (179). The top of this completely isolated hill has been strongly walled, and if there were a fortress there at one time, it would seem to have been well nigh impossible to reduce it through direct attack. The jumble of ruins on top of the hill does not permit the planning of any particular fortress building, unless extensive excavations are undertaken. The tremendous walls which are visible there, whose stones are set in unusually thick layers of plaster, together with the fact that the inside surfaces of the wall were thickly plastered, and that there are channels leading from one room to the other, have convinced us that most of the visible walls on the w. and s. w. sides of el-Meshneqeh belong to reservoirs, and that the entire top of the hill had been turned into a huge catch-basin for the storage of rain-water. There is one *birkeh* there, the outlines of which are still quite visible, and which has not been as completely filled with debris as the other small reservoirs. It is oriented n. e. by s. w. and measures 11.65 by 5.68 m. Mounds of earth were thrown up around its outer sides to help deflect the rain-water into it. At the n. e. corner of this *birkeh* may be seen steps supported on vaults leading down into it. At the w. and n. w. sides of the hill-top there are the remains of at least three more strongly walled and thickly plastered reservoirs. The roughly rectangular top of the hill, which is oriented approximately n.-s., measures about 74 by 40 m., the wall enclosing it following the irregular contours of the hill. The large water supply stored on the top of el-Meshneqeh, together with the strong wall that enclosed it, would have enabled a defending force to hold out indefinitely. The only feasible approach is the very steep track leading up the s. e. ridge of the hill, which connects it with

⁴¹⁵ *Une Croisière autour de la Mer Morte*, p. 36.

⁴¹⁶ *BJ*, VII, 6. 1.

⁴¹⁷ *M*, pp. 96. 238-9.

the narrow land bridge that binds it to the el-Mekâwer hill, and a handful of men could have prevented an army from climbing it. A strong fortress building may yet be discovered on the top of el-Meshneqeh if excavations are ever undertaken there, but in reality the entire hill-top is a fortress, with most of its expanse devoted to the catching and retaining of a very considerable water supply. The fact that the top of el-Meshneqeh was used primarily as a catch-basin is borne out furthermore by the traces of a plastered conduit which once descended the s. e. slope of the hill. It joined the conduit on the n. side of the still comparatively well preserved road or bridge over the saddle which connects the two hills of el-Meshneqeh and el-Mekâwer. It is also quite evident that another conduit led down the n. w. slope of the el-Mekâwer hill and joined the same conduit paralleling the road or bridge over the above mentioned saddle. The water which was thus carried down the sides of the two opposite hills met in the conduit over the connecting saddle. The water was then led through another conduit which branched off from about the middle of the level conduit to some great cisterns below the n. side of the connecting saddle. Traces of these stone-built conduits, the inside surfaces of which were lined with thick layers of plaster, are still visible, particularly over the saddle between the two hills. Flights of steps were apparently built on the slopes of the two hills next to the conduits, and some of their foundations are still visible. The roadway over the saddle between the two hills is 2.90 m. wide, and still preserved to an average height of .80 m. It is built of large, roughly hewn, rectangular flint blocks. The plastered conduit on the n. side of this roadway is 1.60 m. wide, this width being necessitated probably by the rush of waters that came down into it from the opposite hillsides during the rainy season. Much larger quantities of fine Nabataean sherds of all kinds, including sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type were found on top of el-Meshneqeh than at el-Mekâwer. There were also fragments of fine glass-ware, and several pieces of early Byzantine pottery. The presence of large numbers of Nabataean sherds does not at all mean that el-Meshneqeh was originally a Nabataean site, but implies merely that the influence of Nabataean pottery could not be kept from this place and from el-Mekâwer, when after all it was the dominant pottery in all of southern Transjordan during the entire history of Machaerus. The connection of the Herodians with the Nabataeans was also a very close one, and it will be recalled that Herod Antipas, the son of Herod the Great, was at one time married to the daughter of the Nabataean king,⁴¹⁸ Aretas IV. Two coins were found at el-Meshneqeh. One of them is in too poor a state of preservation for the lettering which was once on it to

⁴¹⁸ JPOS XVIII: 1-2, 1938, p. 6; *Bulletin* 68, p. 15.

be legible, but on the reverse side are visible two cornucopias, with a poppy head between them. It could very well belong to the time of Alexander Jannaeus. The other coin was well preserved, and its lettering was very legible. It belongs to the well known type which reads "in the second year of the freedom of Zion".⁴¹⁹ In other words, the two coins span the entire period of history of this important site, which is inseparable from Machaerus, made famous by the Herods. Below the el-Meshneqeh hill to the s. w., w., and n. w., are visible numerous small stone enclosures, in which the inhabitants of the site probably herded their flocks of goat and sheep at night time. Opposite el-Meshneqeh, on the n. slope of the Wādī el-Meshneqeh, may be seen a number of openings which may originally have been tombs (?). We were unable to examine them.

Ed-Deir, about 2 km. s.-s. s. e. of el-Mekâwer, is a completely ruined site on a slight rise, and shows the same occupational history as el-Mekâwer. About 3 km. e.-e. n. e. of el-Mekâwer is Kh. 'Aṭārūs ('Aṭārūz) (180). It is situated on a high point, on the ridge which forms the water-shed between the Seil Ḥeidân and the Wādī Zerqā Mā'in.⁴²⁰ Once a large, walled site, there is nothing left of Kh. 'Aṭārūs today except a mass of shapeless ruins, marked by a *buṭm* tree and several modern graves on the very top of the ruins.⁴²¹ A large number of EI I-II sherds was found, and several Hellenistic sherds which seem to belong to about the 2nd century B. C. There were also some Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds there. There is a small village immediately north of the *khirbeh*, whose houses have been constructed largely out of stones taken from the ruins. The name of Kh. 'Aṭārūs may well be a modern variation of the ancient 'Aṭārôt,⁴²² as Musil has suggested.⁴²³ Inasmuch as the similarity in names is supported by the presence of EI pottery, we consider the identification of 'Aṭārūs with 'Aṭārôt a most likely one.

Less than 3 km. to the n. e. of Kh. 'Aṭārūs, we came to Rujm 'Aṭārūs⁴²⁴ (181), situated on the top of a high hill, visible all the way from the section of the central highway through Transjordan east of this point. Kh. 'Aṭārūs and Dhībân can be seen from the top of the hill, which also commands a clear view over the Wādī Zerqā Mā'in. A bit of the Dead Sea is also visible from this site. The hill is almost completely isolated, being accessible only by a narrow saddle on the s. w. side and a narrow ridge on the n. e. side leading

⁴¹⁹ *Bulletin* 60, p. 4, first of second row of coins counting from the left.

⁴²⁰ M, pp. 395-6.

⁴²¹ For a rough plan of Kh. 'Aṭārūs cf. M, p. 396, fig. 189; Abel II, p. 255.

⁴²² Numbers 32, 3. 35.

⁴²³ M, p. 399, n. 1.

⁴²⁴ Aug. 24, 1936.

to the hill beyond it. On the fairly level top of the hill are the ruins of a once strongly built fortress, which is oriented s. s. e. by n. n. w. The fortress is in such a ruined condition that it was difficult to obtain any accurate measurements of its size, but it seems to measure about 19 by 18 m. The n. wall is the best preserved one. The fortress was further strengthened by a glacis built against its walls. At the n. e. corner the glacis is 2.30 m. thick at the base, and rises to a height of 4.50 m. against the wall. The glacis and the walls are built of roughly hewn flint blocks. Beyond the s. w. corner of the ruined fortress are two cisterns. There is a terebinth tree growing among the ruins at the s. w. corner. The exposed position of the fortress of Rujm 'Aṭārūs on the top of a high hill with steep sides resulted in most of its sherds being washed away. A few worn EI sherds were found, as well as a small number of early Roman sherds. Rujm 'Aṭārūs was a strong EI I-II fortress built in much the same wise as Rujm Mleḥleb and Rujm Abū Sighân. It probably served as a protective post for the larger site of Kh. 'Aṭārūs, and also guarded the tracks leading to and from the Wādī Zerqā Mā'in. Indeed there was little that could pass within a considerable distance of Rujm 'Aṭārūs without being seen by the watchers on its roof.

E. n. e. of Rujm 'Aṭārūs is Kh. Umm Laḥwad (182), on the e. side of the Wādī Abū Ḥesheib. It is a completely destroyed, rather small site, with a number of cisterns among the ruins, amidst which one modern house stands. Ancient terraces, now neglected, can be seen leading down the slope of the *wādī*. There are some distinct wall remains of obviously Byzantine buildings, from which stones were taken for the construction of the new house. There were small quantities of EI I-II sherds, numerous fine Nabataean sherds of all kinds, including sigillata, many late Byzantine sherds, and some painted mediaeval Arabic ware. To the n. n. e. is el-Hûmeh⁴²⁵ (183). It is another practically featureless small ruin, with a terebinth tree growing among the fallen stones. In a country where every tree possible has been uprooted for charcoal and firewood, and never replaced by others, a tree is distinctive, and if left standing always has the character of a sacred tree. A few worn EI sherds were found, and some worn Nabataean sherds, as well as several Byzantine ones and one chalcolithic celt. To the e.-e. n. e. of it is el-Hûmah (184), a small, completely destroyed site, which seems to have consisted mainly of one rectangular building, some of whose foundation walls made of well cut blocks of stone can still be made out. No sherds could be found. To judge from the nature of the site, it would seem to be Roman or early Byzantine originally.

⁴²⁵ M, p. 236.

A little more than 3 km. n. e. of Libb ⁴²⁶ is Kh. ed-Deleilât el-Gharbîyeh ⁴²⁷ (185). It is a large, completely ruined site, with remains of some vaulted rooms still visible, and a large complement of cave-cisterns and cisterns. There were numerous Nabataean sherds of all kinds, including creamy core sigillata, Byzantine sherds, and large quantities of painted and glazed mediaeval Arabic sherds. About 2 km. to the e.-e. n. e. is Kh. Dallûl (186), a small, ruined site, with the same occupational history as Kh. ed-Deleilât el-Gharbîyeh.

About 2.5 km. n. w. of Kh. Nîtl ⁴²⁸ is el-Herbej ⁴²⁹ (192). It is a small, almost featureless site, with the exception of the foundations of a rather large building. There are several worn Roman sherds, in addition to some Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic wares. About 1.5 km. w.-w. n. w. of it is Kh. Sûfeh ⁴³⁰ (191). It is a long, low mound, on top of which are half a dozen poor modern houses. Painted Nabataean, sigillata, fragments of Byzantine ware, and glazed and painted mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there. Less than 3 km. to the w. s. w. is Kh. Kherûfeh ⁴³¹ (190). It is a small ruin, with the foundation walls of a small Roman building still visible. The sherds extend from Nabataean and Roman through Byzantine to mediaeval Arabic. Less than a kilometre to the s.-s. s. e. is Kh. Setîhah ⁴³² (189). It is a practically featureless ruined site, with the exception of some foundation walls at the s. end, and the usual complement of cave-cisterns and cisterns. The sherds are as above. About 2 km. to the s. w. is Kh. Mereijmet esh-Sherqîyeh ⁴³³ (187), a small site, with numerous foundation walls visible, the usual cisterns, and the same sherds as above. It will be seen in the s. section of the rich Mâdebâ plain, there was a dense population, particularly from the Nabataean to the mediaeval Arabic times. The absence of sites preceding the Nabataean in this area means merely, it seems to us, that all traces of them have been wiped out by the subsequent settlements, and by modern occupancy. About 5 km. n. n. w. of Mâdebâ is Kufair Abû Bedd ⁴³⁴ (193), which is a small rude village built on an ancient Roman-Byzantine-mediaeval Arabic site. There is a peculiar great circular (?) stone there, about a fourth of which is buried in the ground. It is standing on edge. At the present time it is 1.80 m. above ground, is 2.90 m. in diameter, and is .40 m. thick. It may originally have been a great millstone. Four km. s. w. of Mā'in is el-Megheirât, where we previously visited a dolmen field.⁴³⁵ Père de Vaux has recently discovered

⁴²⁶ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 75. 76.

⁴²⁷ M, pp. 20. 217. 244. 251; Sept. 5, 1936.

⁴²⁸ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 31. 32.

⁴²⁹ M, p. 106.

⁴³⁰ M, pp. 106. 125.

⁴³¹ M, pp. 126. 395.

⁴³² M, pp. 126. 395.

⁴³³ M, p. 126; cf. ANNUAL XIV, p. 33.

⁴³⁴ M, pp. 216-7; Aug. 16, 1936.

⁴³⁵ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 33. 47.

there a large number of EB IV-MB I sherds, which he has graciously permitted us to mention. Père Mallon had previously visited the site and collected sherds there.^{435a}

With the approximate conclusion of our explorations in southern Transjordan from 'Aqabah to Mâdebâ, it is possible to venture some suggestions with regard to the nature and extent of the Nabataean kingdom, and particularly the relationship of its parts to each other. The day has passed when the entire development and the great wealth of the Nabataean kingdom can be ascribed exclusively to the caravan trade, and the Nabataean state characterized as a loosely organized association of caravaneers.⁴³⁶ The Nabataeans engaged in trade to a great extent, to be sure, but they also engaged in industry⁴³⁷ and to a very extensive and intensive degree in agriculture,⁴³⁸ which met the demands of a thickly settled kingdom. Petra cannot be understood merely as a "caravan city," as it has so frequently been called.⁴³⁹ It was also the center of a great agricultural area which was intensively cultivated. One of the most graphic illustrations of the nature of the agricultural civilization of the Nabataeans between the first century B. C. and the 2nd century A. D. is to be found in the representations of the fertility deities found in the beautiful Nabataean temple at Kh. et-Tannûr,⁴⁴⁰ which will be fully dealt with in a separate volume devoted to the excavations carried on there by the joint expedition of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, and the Transjordan Department of Antiquities. The entire temple, and numerous other Nabataean temples of this period, were devoted completely to the fertility cult.⁴⁴¹

The Nabataean kingdom in southern Transjordan was as highly organized as it was intensively settled. Not only did the Nabataeans have numerous fixed posts guarding their trade-routes, such as the one at Bâyr Wells near its s. e. border,⁴⁴² or at 'Ain Shellâleh in the Wâdî Ramm,⁴⁴³ or along the

^{435a} Mallon, *Teleilat Ghassûl*, p. 155, Pl. 63: 4-9.

⁴³⁶ Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen* I, p. 4; Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, pp. 52-3; Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* II, pp. 167-8; Glueck, A Newly Discovered Nabataean Temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Kh. et-Tannûr, Transjordan, *AJA* XLI, 1937, pp. 361-2; *Bulletin* 65, p. 21; Savignac, *RB* 45, p. 473.

⁴³⁷ *ANNUAL* XV, pp. 14. 34. 40. 80. 81.

⁴³⁸ *AJA* XLI, p. 362; see above pp. 57-8, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, no. 49, p. 801, under "Nabataeans."

⁴³⁹ Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, p. 53.

⁴⁴⁰ *AJA* XLI, pp. 361-76; *Bulletin* 65, pp. 15. 19; 67, pp. 6-16; 69, pp. 7-18.

⁴⁴¹ See above pp. 63-6. 110-11.

⁴⁴² *ANNUAL* XIV, pp. 72-75.

⁴⁴³ *RB* 1932, pp. 581-97; 1934, p. 573; 1935, pp. 270-8; *Bulletin* 69, pp. 17-18; *ANNUAL* XV, pp. 54-55.

trade-route leading through the Wādī el-ʿArabah,⁴⁴⁴ but there were also long lines of frontier posts and watch-towers and sometimes key-fortresses.⁴⁴⁵ These guarded particularly the boundaries along the e. side of the fertile part of the Nabataean territory in southern Transjordan, protecting the rich, cultivated plateau lands that had once marked the kingdoms of Moab and Edom. The Nabataeans adopted the methods of defence and organization which the Edomites and Moabites had worked out before them, improving upon them, and enlarging their scope. On practically every one of the numerous towers and frontier posts and fortresses of the long line of defences on the e. boundaries of the Edomite and Moabite kingdoms, stretching from the top of the Neqb Shtâr to the Wādī el-Ḥesā,⁴⁴⁶ and from the Wādī el-Ḥesā to the n. e. corner of Moab, Nabataean sherds were found in addition to Edomite and Moabite EI sherds. The earlier buildings were either taken over directly by the Nabataeans, sometimes with the addition of superstructures of their own, or new buildings were erected next to, enclosing, inside of, or in the immediate vicinity of the older ones. In addition, the Nabataeans built many new fortresses and watch-towers of their own on previously unoccupied sites.⁴⁴⁷

About five hundred Nabataean watch-towers, fortresses, villages, and towns, most of the latter situated in their day in the midst of cultivated fields, have now been examined by the archaeological survey expeditions of the American School of Oriental Research in the areas between the Gulf of ʿAqabah and a line approximately parallel with the n. end of the Dead Sea. On practically all of them greater or lesser quantities of Nabataean sherds were found. It is therefore specially noteworthy that north of an imaginary line which may be drawn w.-e. through Mâdebâ⁴⁴⁸ the American School of Oriental Research expeditions have found no sites marked by the Nabataean pottery. Beyond this line, all vestiges of the now familiar egg-shell thin, reddish-buff, plain or painted or rouletted Nabataean wares⁴⁴⁹ simply cease to exist. This line running through Mâdebâ and continuing eastward to the desert would mark the northernmost extent of Nabataean settlement in southern Transjordan.⁴⁵⁰ This does not mean that Nabataean political control extended over all of this

⁴⁴⁴ ANNUAL XV, pp. 9-47. 53. 141-2.

⁴⁴⁵ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 69-73. 83; XV, p. 139.

⁴⁴⁶ HUCA XI, pp. 143-4; see above pp. 73. 79. 103. 117. 121-2.

⁴⁴⁷ AJA XXXVIII, pp. 217-8; XLI, p. 362; ANNUAL XIV, p. 83; XV, pp. 139-140.

⁴⁴⁸ *Bulletin* 68, p. 15; Cantineau I, p. 20, n. 2; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, XVI: 2, col. 1459; ANNUAL XIV, p. 6.

⁴⁴⁹ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 74-6; XV, pp. 13-16.

⁴⁵⁰ ANNUAL XIV, sites 55. 56. 59. 61-65. 76. 79; XV, sites 237. 238; *Bulletin* 65, pp. 25-27; 68 p. 15.

area. From it must be excepted that part of Herodian-controlled Peraea, which according to Josephus⁴⁵¹ extended from "Machaerus in the south to Pella in the north, while its breadth is from Philadelphia to the Jordan."⁴⁵² Our survey has shown that the s. boundary of Peraea can be drawn eastward from the Dead Sea on a line with Machaerus to the top of the w. edge of the Moabite plateau. Its e. boundary, at least in former Moabite territory, could be fixed by a n.-s. line running somewhat west of Mâdebâ. The description of the breadth of Peraea "from Philadelphia to the Jordan" should probably be changed to "from the Jordan to about one half the way to Philadelphia."⁴⁵³ When the daughter of Aretas IV was about to be divorced from Herod Antipas, the son of Herod the Great, she asked to be sent to Machaerus. Josephus describes Machaerus as being on the border of the dominions of the two kings, which is correct, but he wrongly places it in the territory of Aretas.⁴⁵⁴ To escape from Machaerus⁴⁵⁵ to the security of her father's kingdom meant for the daughter of Aretas a flight of only a few miles. Numerous Nabataean controlled settlements existed immediately south and east of that small, more or less rectangular part of Peraea which stretched along the n.e. side of the Dead Sea.

The discovery of the n. limit of sites with Nabataean sherds would alone have made possible the approximate fixing of the n. boundary of the Nabataean kingdom in s. Transjordan, without considering the e. and s. extent of Peraea and the s. extent of the Decapolis Union. The line of demarcation between these boundaries may not be too rigidly drawn. As has been shown elsewhere,⁴⁵⁶ some sites with both Nabataean and Roman sherds have been found in the part of Peraea south of the n. end of the Dead Sea. This is to be expected, because Nabataean wares could not be strictly limited by a boundary line. While there were but few Nabataean sherds at Machaerus, we have seen that they abounded at el-Meshneqeh opposite it.⁴⁵⁷ Whether or not the n. boundary of the Nabataean kingdom in Transjordan coincides exactly with a line running w.-e. approximately through Mâdebâ, with the exception of the Peraea area, the fact remains that Nabataean settlements marked by Nabataean pottery are not to be found north of this line. The s. extent of the Nabataean

⁴⁵¹ BJ III, 3, 3.

⁴⁵² Abel II, pp. 147. 154.

⁴⁵³ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities* XX. 1, 1.

⁴⁵⁴ Josephus, *Antiquities* XVIII. 5, 1; cf. however, BJ III. 3, 3. I should like here to correct my statement in ANNUAL XIV, p. 61, that it was necessary for the daughter of Aretas IV to flee south of the Arnon to find refuge in her father's kingdom.

⁴⁵⁵ See above pp. 131-5.

⁴⁵⁶ ANNUAL XV, p. 110; *Bulletin* 65, pp. 25-7; see above pp. 131 ff.

⁴⁵⁷ *Bulletin* 65, p. 26; see above pp. 133-4.

kingdom reached at least as far as Medâ' in Şāleḥ.⁴⁵⁸ Its easternmost boundary was probably marked by the e. side of the Wādī Sirḥān.⁴⁵⁹ Its western was limited in part by the Dead Sea⁴⁶⁰ and the 'Arabah, while a Nabataean trade-corridor extended from the 'Arabah to the Mediterranean via el-Ḥoṣḥ and Qurnub, among other important sites showing Nabataean settlements in the Negeb.⁴⁶¹ From Gaza, vessels carried Nabataean merchandise to Italy and elsewhere along the Mediterranean coast.⁴⁶² Nabataean overland trade-routes led from Aila and Petra through Sinai⁴⁶³ to Egypt,⁴⁶⁴ not to mention the sea-route through the Red Sea.⁴⁶⁵ One of the most important trade-routes followed by the Nabataeans led to Syria, where indeed the Nabataeans had firmly established themselves. In view of the existence of an important part of the Nabataean kingdom in southern Syria, it becomes necessary to explain its connection with the s. part of the kingdom in Transjordan and Arabia, and to give a satisfactory reason for the almost complete absence of Nabataean sherds north of the Mâdebā line.

At various times from 85 B. C. on, when Aretas III ruled in Damascus,⁴⁶⁶ the Nabataeans were in control of Damascus. From then on, till Trajan in 106 A. D. incorporated almost the entire Nabataean kingdom into a Roman province (Arabia adquisita),⁴⁶⁷ which was administered from Bostra,⁴⁶⁸ the Ḥaurān and the Jebel Druze remained largely Nabataean.⁴⁶⁹ Indeed, the Ḥaurān, as elsewhere, has furnished Nabataean texts which date after 106 A. D. They indicate for the Ḥaurān what is true of other parts of the former Nabataean kingdom, namely that with the absorption of the Nabataean kingdom into the Roman empire, the Nabataeans did not immediately disappear from

⁴⁵⁸ ANNUAL XIV, p. 74; XV, pp. 50. 57. 109; AJA XLI, p. 361; Jaussen et Savignac, MA II: 1, pp. 107 ff.; Cantineau I p. 3.

⁴⁵⁹ One of the most important Nabataean posts in s. e. Transjordan near the Wādī Sirḥān was Bâyir Wells; cf. ANNUAL XIV, pp. 72-5; AJA XLI, p. 362.

⁴⁶⁰ ANNUAL XV, pp. 6-7; Abel II, p. 167.

⁴⁶¹ AJA XLI, p. 361; ANNUAL XV, pp. 19-20. 118; QDAP III: 3, p. 133; Cantineau I, p. 20, n. 4.

⁴⁶² AJA XLI, p. 361; Cantineau I, p. 21, n. 8; Levi Della Vida, *Una Bilingue Greco-Nabataea a Coö, Clara Rhodos* Vol. IX, pp. 139-148; CIS I, 119. 122; Lidzbarski, *Alt-semitische Texte*, pp. 40-2, n. 52; CIS II, 157-59.

⁴⁶³ ANNUAL XV, p. 47; *Harvard Theological Review* 1932, pp. 102. 107. 118.

⁴⁶⁴ Cantineau I, p. 20, n. 6; Clermont-Ganneau, *Les Nabatéens en Egypte, Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* VIII, 1924, pp. 229-57.

⁴⁶⁵ Cantineau I, p. 2; Strabo II, 5. 12.

⁴⁶⁶ *Antiquities* XIII. 15, 2; 13, 5; BJ I. 4, 3.

⁴⁶⁷ Kammerer, p. 260, fig. 19.

⁴⁶⁸ Abel II, p. 165; Dio Cassius LXVIII, 14.

⁴⁶⁹ Pauly-Wissowa XVI: 2, col. 1460; Kammerer, pp. 106. 135. 254.

off the face of the earth, stop using the Nabataean script, or cease building temples devoted to Nabataean deities. In other words, the impact of the Roman conquest did not immediately destroy the cultural life of the Nabataeans, which continued for the most part well down into the 2nd century A. D. One text from the Ḥaurân is dated to the 7th year of Hadrian's reign, that is, to 124 A. D. Another seems to date from the 42nd year after the establishment of the Roman province of Arabia, that is, to 148 A. D.⁴⁷⁰ Damascus was occupied in 65 B. C. by Roman legions under Lollius and Metellus, and then under Scaurus, who had been sent into Syria from Armenia by Pompey.⁴⁷¹ Under Cassius (44-42 B. C.), there was a Roman commandant, Fabius, in Damascus.⁴⁷² The Nabataeans seem to have regained control of Damascus during the reign of Aretas IV, who ruled from 9 B. C. to 40 A. D. He was represented in Damascus by an ethnarch, who attempted to arrest Paul.⁴⁷³ During the reign of Malichus II (40-70/71 A. D.), the Nabataeans again lost control over Damascus, this time apparently to the legions of Nero⁴⁷⁴ (53-68 A. D.), but continued to hold the territory to the e. and s. e. of it. They remained in possession of Admedera (Dumeir), the first station on the Damascus-Palmyra route.⁴⁷⁵ While the Nabataeans were not again to regain control of Damascus,⁴⁷⁶ they remained firmly established in the Ḥaurân and the Jebel Druze. Numerous Nabataean settlements such as Suweida and Si', for example, with their splendid temples and Nabataean inscriptions, testify to the permanency, intensiveness, and highly developed character of the Nabataean occupation. How then was this part of the Nabataean kingdom in Syria connected with the Nabataean kingdom in Transjordan and Arabia? Both parts of the Nabataean kingdom, it will be recalled, were under the sovereignty of the same kings.⁴⁷⁷

A main highway leads through central Transjordan from 'Aqabah and Mâdebâ directly to the Ḥaurân and to Damascus. It is the highway along which the Eastern Kings travelled at the end of the Early Bronze Age, and which in the Early Iron Age was known as the "royal highway," as it is

⁴⁷⁰ Cantineau I, p. 21, nos. 1. 3; Abel II, p. 168.

⁴⁷¹ *Antiquities* XIV, 2. 3; BJ I, 6, 2.

⁴⁷² *Antiquities* XIV, 11, 7.

⁴⁷³ II Cor. 11, 32.

⁴⁷⁴ There are Roman coins from Damascus of Augustus and Tiberius, and of Nero from the 8th year of his reign on, but none from Caligula, Claudius, and the first years of Nero; cf. Pauly-Wissowa under *Damaskus*, col. 2046; Kammerer, p. 254; de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 36.

⁴⁷⁵ CIS II, Aramaic, I, p. 190, n. 161; Abel II, p. 165.

⁴⁷⁶ Pauly-Wissowa, col. 2046.

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. Glueck, Nabataean Syria and Nabataean Transjordan, JPOS XVIII (1938), pp. 1-6.

today, and which Trajan used for the building of his famous road. It is probable that many Nabataean caravans used this central n.-s. track. That is why a Nabataean text has been found at Zizā,⁴⁷⁸ and why Nabataean sherds and several Nabataean coins have been found at Jerash,⁴⁷⁹ (and, as we shall see, several Nabataean sherds at Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbîyeh).⁴⁸⁰ Additional texts, sherds, and coins may well be found at other important trade-centers in northern Transjordan. This highway, however, cannot be accounted as a life-line connecting the two separated parts of the Nabataean kingdom in southern Syria and southern Transjordan. It could have been too easily severed, so far as the Nabataeans were concerned, for them to depend upon it completely or even mainly for the uninterrupted flow of trade which was vitally important for the economic life of the kingdom; and from a military point of view it would have been suicidal. Altogether, it would be impossible to understand the development of the Syrian part of the Nabataean kingdom if there were no other connection with Nabataean Transjordan and Arabia than that afforded by the "royal road" which traversed the length of Eastern Palestine.

We have seen that the northern limit of Nabataean settlements in Transjordan was fixed by a line that can be drawn w.-e. from approximately the n. end of the Dead Sea. Nabataean expansion farther north was prevented on the one hand by the Herodian control of Peraea, and on the other by the Decapolis Union. To the archaeological explorer, who has been working his way northward from the southernmost boundary of Transjordan and coming across literally hundreds of large and small Nabataean settlements of all kinds, it is somewhat perplexing at first to enter a district where absolutely no traces of Nabataean sherds can be found, at least on the surface. The Nabataean pottery is replaced everywhere by contemporary early Roman wares. It may be said that this holds true for the sites examined between the Mâdebâ line and the Wâdî Zerqâ. This striking difference in kinds of pottery in Transjordan belonging to the period extending approximately from the first century B. C. to the 2nd century A. D. is all the more strange in view of the fact that throughout all of Eastern Palestine which the ASOR expedition has thus far examined there is, at least as far as the early Bronze and Early Iron Ages are concerned, the most striking similarity of pottery types. This similarity extends to pottery in Western Palestine of contemporary periods, although there are distinguishable differences, particularly in ornamentation. The texture of the wares may indeed be different, being conditioned by local

⁴⁷⁸ Cantineau I, p. 20, n. 2.

⁴⁷⁹ Bellinger, *Coins from Jerash*, pp. 37-38, nos. 77-79.

⁴⁸⁰ See below pp. 233-4.

clays, but generally speaking the pottery types in these ages are the same both in Trans- and Cisjordan. It is furthermore to be noted that the first century B. C.—2nd century A. D. pottery in non-Nabataean Transjordan is, generally speaking, the same as contemporary pottery in Western Palestine. Viewed from this point of view, one may say that the typical Nabataean pottery found in Nabataean Transjordan is a “sport,” being decidedly an exception to the rule. The surprising thing then is not that Nabataean pottery ceases suddenly north of the Mâdebâ line, but rather that south of it there should at all be a pottery so markedly different from contemporary wares in the rest of Transjordan and Western Palestine. It remains yet to be seen if typical Nabataean pottery will be found in the Ḥaurân or in the Jebel Druze. None has been reported yet, but that hardly means that it may not still be found. It is to be remembered that only during the last few years has Nabataean pottery been recognized as such in southern Transjordan. If Nabataean pottery is found in southern Syria, the isolation of the two parts of the Nabataean kingdom from each other will be all the more marked. However, even if Nabataean pottery is not found there, the question still remains as to the relationship of the two parts of the Nabataean kingdom, so radically separated from each other by the territory mainly of the Decapolis Union. There was, we believe, a more vital connection between these two parts of the Nabataean kingdom than that furnished by the “king’s highway” through Transjordan, so much of which led through non-Nabataean territory. We suggest that this connection was furnished by the Wâdī Sirḥân.

Abel has alluded to the importance of the Wâdī Sirḥân for the Nabataeans, and its relationship to the e. frontier of their kingdom.⁴⁸¹ It was, however, it seems to us, much more than a desert rift on the e. frontier. It was in former days what to a lesser degree it is now, a great highway leading from the heart of Arabia to the rich land of Syria and its contiguous territories. If it were possible today to explore the Wâdī Sirḥân, there would present itself, we believe, the complete explanation for the amazing development of the Syrian part of the Nabataean kingdom. There would probably be found along the length of the Wâdī Sirḥân a line of Nabataean caravanserais and police-posts similar to those found along the length of the Wâdī el-‘Arabâh between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of ‘Aqabah.⁴⁸² The Nabataean caravans with their precious loads from Arabia followed the highway of the Wâdī Sirḥân to Syria, as naturally as similar caravans followed the tracks through

⁴⁸¹ RB 46 (1937), p. 376, n. 1; Abel I, pp. 72, n. 1; 100-101. 286, n. 5; 289; Musil, *Northern Ḥeġâz*, p. 284; *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 478. 484-93; *The Geographical Journal* LXXVI, 1930, p. 372; Pauly-Wissowa XVI: 2, col. 1454.

⁴⁸² ANNUAL XV, pp. 9 ff.

Arabia to southern Transjordan and the 'Arabah, converging mainly on Petra, and radiating thence to Egypt, Gaza, and due northward also in part to Syria. The same process of settlement by the Nabataeans in fertile lands which took place in southern Transjordan, in the former territories of Edom and Moab, was repeated, and to a large degree contemporaneously, in southern Syria. The Nabataean occupation of southern Transjordan was more widespread and intensive, apparently, than the Nabataean occupation of southern Syria. Both, however, were natural developments of direct connections with Arabia. Even as in Transjordan, so in Syria, caravanserais sprang up to accommodate the rich Nabataean caravans, towns were built to shelter the numerous Nabataeans who remained as permanent settlers, temples were constructed to satisfy their religious needs. The victory of Obodas I over Alexander Jannaeus in 93 or 90 B. C. certainly facilitated the Nabataean occupation of the Ḥaurân and the Jebel Druze.⁴⁸³ It would have been a short-lived occupation, however, had it not been sustained by the life-line of the Nabataean controlled Wâdī Sirhân which led to the supporting *hinterland* of Arabia. Similarly, we cannot believe, as Josephus⁴⁸⁴ would have us, that it was the hatred the Damascenes bore for Ptolemy the son of Mennaeus, which induced them in 85 B. C. to put the Nabataean king, Aretas III, on the throne in Damascus and give him control over Coele-Syria. He came to the throne in Damascus because of the economic and military power of the Nabataeans, which had enabled them to penetrate through the Wâdī Sirhân into southern Syria and to obtain a firm foothold there. If we understand the Nabataean settlement in the Ḥaurân and the Jebel Druze not merely as the result of the economic advantages accruing to it through the central Transjordan trade-route to southern Syria, but particularly as the natural consequence of its geographical relationship to the Wâdī Sirhân, then the relationship of the two widely separated parts of the Nabataean kingdom in southern Syria and southern Transjordan becomes more understandable than hitherto. They were divergent arms of Nabataean Arabia,⁴⁸⁵ and it mattered not therefore that they were separated by the territory of the Decapolis Union.

As a result of archaeological investigation by Mr. and Mrs. George Horsfield, Père Savignac, and the expeditions of the American School of Oriental Research, the process of Nabataean settlement in Transjordan has become clearer than the process of Nabataean settlement in Syria, which still requires much study. It has been found in Transjordan, as we have seen, that the

⁴⁸³ *Antiquities* XIII. 13, 5; BJ I. 4, 4; Pauly-Wissowa XVI: 2, col. 1460; Abel II, p. 149.

⁴⁸⁴ *Antiquities* XIII. 15, 2; XVI. 9, 4; Abel II, pp. 148-50. 164-8.

⁴⁸⁵ Pauly-Wissowa XVI: 2, col. 1462.

Nabataeans took possession of practically every EI site they came across. We should like briefly to discuss this process of settlement in Edom alone. Most of the Edomite sites were taken over by Nabataeans who moved in after the downfall of the Edomites, and introduced their own pottery. It is, however, not to be imagined that all the Edomites emigrated *en bloc* from their former territory to settle in southern Palestine, where the district in which they lived became known as Idumaea.⁴⁸⁶ Actually the picture of what happened is considerably different. Many of the Edomites, it is true, were pushed out by the infiltrating Nabataeans, and others probably had been driven out by the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians,⁴⁸⁷ even before the accession of the Nabataeans to power. It is, however, no more reasonable to assume that all the Edomites left or were expelled from Edom than it is correct to say that all the Judaeans left or were expelled from their homeland as the result of similar conquests. There must have been many pure-blooded descendants of Edomites who remained in their own country, intermarried with the Nabataeans, and eventually were effectively absorbed by them.⁴⁸⁸ There was after all a close blood kinship between Edomites and Nabataeans, as indeed there was between Judaeans and Edomites,⁴⁸⁹ and later between Judaeans and Idumaeans. The nature of the mutual relationships of these groups, and an interesting cycle of history, can be no better illustrated than by calling to mind the marriage of Herod Antipas, the son of Herod the Great of Idumaeans origin, to the daughter of the Nabataean king, Aretas IV,—and their subsequent divorce. It was quite likely therefore that many of the former Edomite fortresses and police-posts and villages were occupied in part, or even completely, by Nabataeanized Edomites, just as in a partly contemporary period the throne of Judaea was occupied by Judaized Idumaeans.⁴⁹⁰ Similarly it can be said that many former Moabite sites were not only occupied by Nabataeans, but were repossessed by Nabataeanized Moabites.

We shall reserve a discussion of the boundaries of Moab until we have finished treating the survey of the territory of Sihôn, king of the Amorites, which extended as far north as the Wâdī Zerqā, the River Jabbok of the Bible. The n. boundary of Moab changed considerably between the Wâdī Mōjib and the n. end of the Dead Sea during various periods. In this discussion of the adjoining boundaries of the two kingdoms it will also be necessary to introduce the treatment of the southern boundaries of the kingdom of 'Ammôn.

⁴⁸⁶ I Macc. 5, 65; II Macc. 10, 16; Mk. 3, 8; *Antiquities* XII. 9, 1; BJ I. 2, 6; IV. 8, 1.

⁴⁸⁷ HUCA XI, pp. 142. 152; ANNUAL XV, pp. 52-3; RB 46 (1937), p. 380.

⁴⁸⁸ Pauly-Wissowa XVI: 2, col. 1457; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 233.

⁴⁸⁹ ANNUAL XV, p. 49; Gen. 15, 19; 36, 10. 11. 42.

⁴⁹⁰ Deut. 23, 8; ANNUAL XV, p. 113; JPOS XVIII (1938), pp. 1-6.

The archaeological survey of Moab and Edom was supplemented by an aerial survey on November 5, 1936, due to the courtesy of the Air Officer Commanding Palestine and Transjordan.⁴⁹¹ Squadron Leader Traill proved to be an ideal companion for this venture. His keen interest in archaeology, thorough knowledge of Transjordan, and quick understanding of archaeological problems involved were largely responsible for whatever measure of success our aerial reconnaissance of southern Transjordan attained. The flight has already been fully described,⁴⁹² and it will be necessary here only to add some pertinent details and new materials. Of importance was the aerial tracing of the Roman road which leading from Kh. Môtêh to Kathrabbâ descends steeply to the Lisân⁴⁹³ (Fig. 49). Traces of the southward extension of this Roman road could be seen along the e. side of the Dead Sea leading directly to the Ghôr eş-Şâfi. It continued probably along the e. side of the 'Arabah, crossing to the w. side at Gharandel (Arindela), where it united with the Roman road on the w. side of the 'Arabah, and led then to Aila.⁴⁹⁴

The flight from eş-Şâfi⁴⁹⁵ to Qaşr el-Feifeh⁴⁹⁶ took only a few minutes. On the fairly flat hill-top of one of the foothills to the east bordering the Ghôr, we saw a large *rujm* (Fig. 50). It seems to have been a site of considerable importance, and to judge from its general appearance might well belong to the Early Iron Age, if not to the Early Bronze Age. If it is what it appeared to be from the air, it may well have served to guard the track leading through the Ghôr el-Feifeh to the top of the plateau east of it. Not far from this site, in a once irrigated tongue of land of the Ghôr el-Feifeh bounded by converging foothills on either side, are two walled areas, previously visited by Frank.⁴⁹⁷ They might well represent the later Nabataean-Roman (?) successor to the earlier *rujm* nearby. Leading from the edge of the foothills where there is apparently a spring, there was visible from the air an aqueduct through which water was conducted to the easternmost walled square (Fig. 51a). This aqueduct must originally have connected with the extensive, irrigated garden area visible by a similar walled site, about 500 m. west of the above mentioned one. The lines of long garden terrace walls can still be seen (Fig. 51b).

⁴⁹¹ See above pp. xxi-ii.

⁴⁹² *Bulletin* 66, pp. 27-28; 67, pp. 19-67.

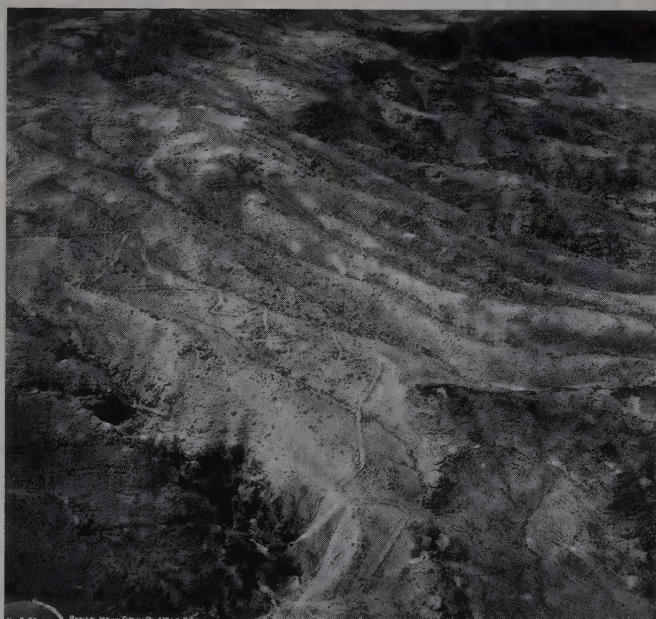
⁴⁹³ M, pp. 22, 362; cf. Alt, ZDPV 60 (1937), pp. 240-3.

⁴⁹⁴ *Bulletin* 67, p. 20; Alt, ZDPV 59 (1936), pp. 96-99, 181-193.

⁴⁹⁵ Frank, *Aus der 'Araba* I, ZDPV 57, p. 204, and Fig. 21 A; ANNUAL XV, p. 8; Wright, PPEB, Chart A. The pottery found by Frank at eş-Şâfi may go back as early as EB I.

⁴⁹⁶ ANNUAL XV, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁹⁷ AA I, pp. 210-11, Pl. 27, and Plans 11 and 12.



a



b

Fig. 49. Roman road leading from Kathrabbā to Dead Sea.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

The next site flown over was et-Telâh⁴⁹⁸ (Fig. 52, et-Telâh, showing *birkeh* and *khirbeh* in foreground, and beyond them remains of walled fields). The

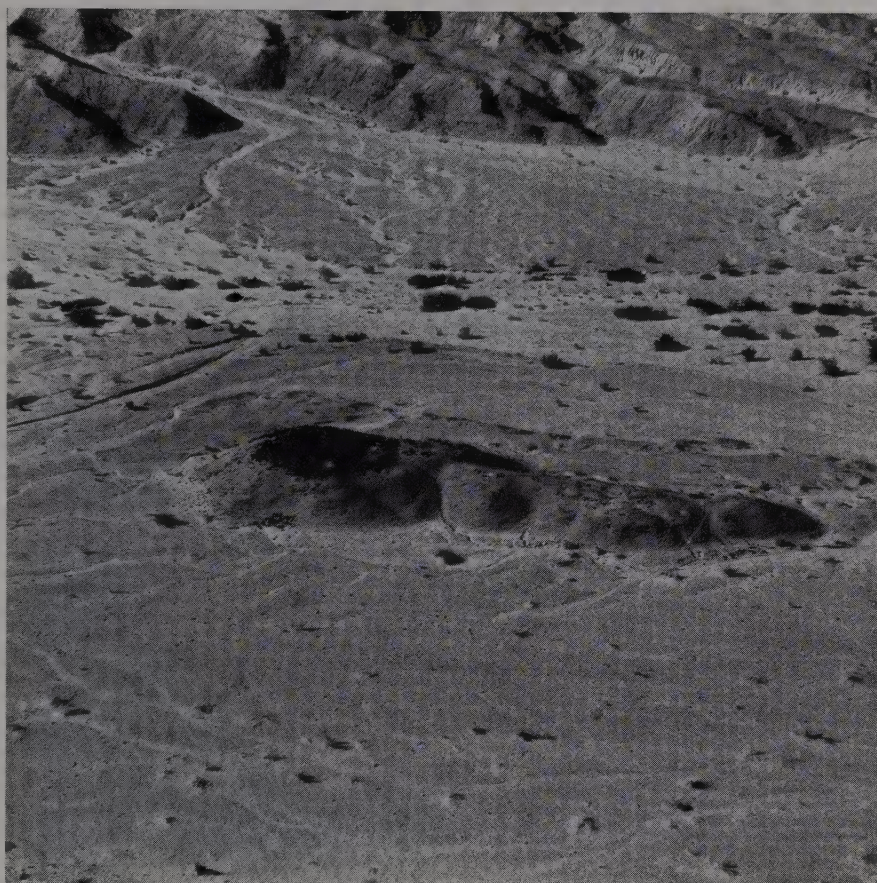


Fig. 50. Rujm east of Qaşr el-Feifeh.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

elaborately terraced and walled fields resembling tremendous checkerboards appeared even more impressive from the air than they had when we previously visited them on foot.⁴⁹⁹ Completely abandoned now, they still cover a considerable area and testify to the energy and resourcefulness of the inhabitants of

⁴⁹⁸ ANNUAL XV, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁹⁹ ANNUAL XV, p. 13.

the Nabataean and Roman site of et-Telâh. The flight continued until finally we were circling over the site of Tell el-Kheleifeh, which the American School subsequently excavated.⁵⁰⁰



a

Fig. 51. Nabataean-Roman site east of Qaşr el-Feifeh.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

The Wâdī el-Ḥesā was also surveyed from the air, only one new site being seen⁵⁰¹ in addition to those which had previously been discovered on foot. Circling over Jebel et-Tannûr⁵⁰² we could see nothing which had not been noticed during the excavations of Kh. et-Tannûr.

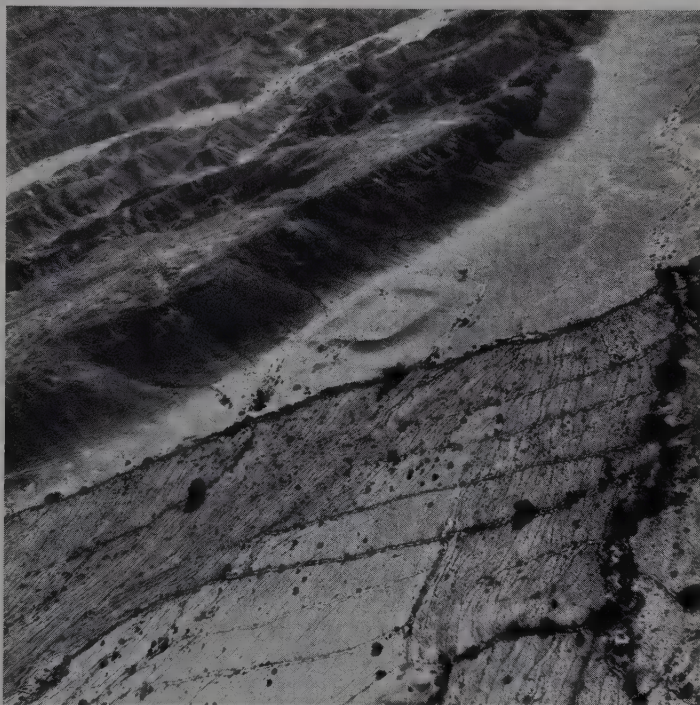
⁵⁰⁰ *Bulletin* 71, pp. 3-18; 72, pp. 2-13.

⁵⁰² *Bulletin* 67, pp. 6-16; 69, pp. 7-18.

⁵⁰¹ See above p. 69.

SOUTH GILEAD AND 'AMMÔN.

Before continuing our discussion of boundaries and sites, it were well to define the term *Gilead*,⁵⁰³ which is used very loosely in the Bible. In Numbers 32, 33, the territory assigned to Gad, Reuben, and half the tribe of Manas-



b

Fig. 51. Nabataean-Roman site east of Qaṣr el-Feifeh.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

seh includes the kingdoms of Sîhôn, king of the Amorites, and Og, king of Bashan,—in other words, all the territory between the Arnon and the Yarmûk.⁵⁰⁴ The word *Gilead* is used, we shall see, for the whole of this territory as well as for a part of it. Thus in Kings 10, 33 we read:

“From the Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, of the Gadites, Reubenites, and Manassites, extending (northward) from ‘Arôêr which is in the Naḥal Arnôn, and including Gilead and Bashan.”

⁵⁰³ Noth, ZDPV 58, p. 250, n. 2.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. I Kings 4, 19; Judges 10, 8; Joshua 22, 9.

"All the land of Gilead" thus also includes a part called "Gilead" which is obviously north of the Jabbok.

In Deut. 3, 16, 17 we read that Gilead includes the territory between the



Fig. 52. et-Telâh.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

Jabbok and the Arnon which was given to Reuben and Gad,⁵⁰⁵ in addition to the Jordan river corridor extending to the Sea of Kinnereth. In Deut. 3, 12 we read that *half of Mt. Gilead* was given to Reuben and Gad.⁵⁰⁶ In Numbers 32, 39 it is stated that the land of *Gilead* is to be given to Gad and Reuben.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Joshua 12, 2; 13, 24-27.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. Numbers 21, 21-30; Bergman, JAOS 54, (1934), p. 173.

It cannot be more than the s. half of Gilead between the Arnon and the Jabbok. Numbers 32, 34-38⁵⁰⁷ mention the cities built by Gad and Reuben. They are limited to the s. half of South Gilead, namely to the originally Moabite territory between the Naḥal Arnôn and the Naḥal Ḥeshbôn, which Sihôn incorporated into his kingdom before the advent of the Israelites. We shall designate the entire half of Gilead or Mt. Gilead south of the Wādī Zerqā with the name of South Gilead.

The rest of Gilead, which is known just by that name, *the rest of Gilead*, is used, with Bashan, to represent the territory between the Jabbok and the Yarmūk and beyond, which belonged to the kingdom of Og, and was assigned to half of the tribe of Manasseh.⁵⁰⁸ The rest of Gilead is also called *Half of Gilead*,⁵⁰⁹ or also simply *Gilead*.⁵¹⁰ In II Kings 10, 33 the phrase *all the land of Gilead* includes the section north of the Jabbok, namely *Gilead and Bashan*. We shall speak of this Gilead north of the Wādī Zerqā as *North Gilead*.

About 3 km. w. s. w. of Ḥesbân⁵¹¹ is el-Mushaqqar (194). It is a completely destroyed site on a rise, crowned by a modern building constructed in large part of ancient building stones. The doorway on the e. side of the building is built of broken pillars, turned upside down, with Byzantine capitals at the bottom. There are numerous caves and cave-cisterns on the site, as well as rock-hewn burial chambers. A few Roman and Byzantine sherds were found. This is the site where a relief of a large hand holding a thunderbolt was found several years ago⁵¹² (Fig. 53). It probably belonged to a late type of Hadad figure, whose worship as we have seen was widespread in s. Transjordan,⁵¹³ and extended also, as we shall point out below, throughout n. Transjordan. The Dead Sea is visible from el-Mushaqqar.

Some 9 km. west of 'Ammân, and about 1.5 km. s. e. of 'Ain es-Sîr, where there is a large and prosperous Circassian village, lies Qaṣr eṣ-Şâr⁵¹⁴ (207). It is in about the center of the rolling, upland fertile farm area that extends between Nā'ûr on the south, and Şuweileḥ on the north. This fertile, fairly unbroken area extends east to 'Ammân, but not much west of the Nā'ûr-Şuweileḥ track, where the land becomes more hilly and less fertile, as it nears the w. edge of the plateau overlooking the descent to the Jordan River valley and the n. end of the Dead Sea. Situated at the top of the gradual slope from the east to the

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. Numbers 32, 1-4; Joshua 13, 24-27.

⁵⁰⁸ Dt. 3, 13; Joshua 13, 30, 31.

⁵⁰⁹ Joshua 13, 31.

⁵¹⁰ Joshua 17, 1, 5; Numbers 32, 39-42; II Kings 10, 33.

⁵¹¹ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 6, 75, 76.

⁵¹² Now on display in Palestine Archaeological Museum.

⁵¹³ See above pp. 63-66; *Bulletin* 67, p. 16; 69, p. 14.

⁵¹⁴ July 31, 1937; cf. Butler, *Syria*, II A, p. 33; Conder, *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, I, p. 153; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 404-5; *Bulletin* 68, p. 17.

west, at a height of 972 m., it occupies the highest point in the vicinity, and commands an excellent view over much of the surrounding country-side. The slope away from it to the west is more precipitate, beneath it on this side being the Wādī esh-Shitā. The fields round about it are strongly terraced with ancient and still serviceable terraces. The main structure is a massive, ruined *qaṣr*, built of large, rudely shaped, flint-conglomerate blocks. The n.,



Fig. 53. Hadad(?) symbol of hand clutching thunderbolt, from el-Mushaqqar.

(Courtesy Palestine Archaeological Museum).

w., and s. walls of the approximately 20 m. square building are the best preserved ones.⁵¹⁵ The building which is oriented s.-s. s. w by n.-n. n. e. actually measures 20 by 19.80 m. The w. end of the n. wall, and elsewhere, is still 9 courses high, amounting to 6 m. (Fig. 54) One of the stretchers in the n. w. corner measures 2.90 by 1.00 by .70 m. The e. wall of the *qaṣr* has been almost completely destroyed. Much of it was probably torn down already in Roman times, when the entire character of the *qaṣr* was altered from that of a fortress to that of a temple (?) oriented towards the rising sun. Whether or not the original entrance was on the e. side cannot now be determined. It is apparent, however, that during the alterations a grandiose entrance was erected on

⁵¹⁵ For a rough plan of the site cf. Butler, p. 33, ill. 21.

this side. A platform (stylobate?), with a total width of about 6.80 m., including its outer wall of 1.80 m. in width, was built along the length of the foundations of the e. wall. A great staircase probably led up to the center of this platform and then into the *qaṣr*. The main entrance to the *qaṣr* proper during this period was probably under a massive entablature supported by limestone columns. Within the building are three large, fluted column bases, two of them near the e. side, and one by the s. w. corner. There are also, both inside and outside of the building, column-drums, voussoirs, and other architectural stones, which once formed part of the reconstructed building. When the changes were undertaken, the e. side of the *qaṣr* was faced by a courtyard with two parallel rows of arcosolia on its n. and s. sides. The e. end of this courtyard is now buried under debris, as are the sarcophagi under the arches which Butler saw. When he planned the site in 1905, the seven arcosolia on either side were backed by a wall, which in effect formed a continuation of the lines of the n. and s. walls of the *qaṣr*. Since then, these walls have completely disappeared.⁵¹⁶ There were numerous large, now filled-up cisterns and cave-cisterns around the site. There seems also to be a cistern inside the main *qaṣr*, whose mouth is covered by a fallen, fluted, column base. There are remains of a considerable settlement on the s. e. side of the *qaṣr*, and also on the n. e. side, where there are also the remains of a small reservoir. The arcosolia, capitals, bases, column-drums, and other architectural fragments made of limestone, seem to belong to the Roman period. Numerous Roman sherds, including plain and rouletted sigillata, were found, as well as Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The altered building probably continued in use during the Byzantine period, when the Roman temple (?) may have been transformed into a church. A small quantity of worn EI sherds was found, which probably belong to the period of the original construction of the main flint-block *qaṣr*. However, from the construction of the main building, with its huge blocks, laid at the corners in headers and stretchers,⁵¹⁷ we feel certain, even without really adequate pottery evidence, that it was originally built in the Early Iron Age. This was the first site of its kind that we examined in our survey of South Gilead. Although the nature of its construction alone led us to believe that it had to be assigned to the Early Iron Age, the discovery of similar sites with indubitable ceramic evidence enables us to attribute it certainly to EI I, with its history continuing down into EI II.⁵¹⁸

About 2 km. e. n. e. of Qaṣr eṣ-Şâr is Qaṣr er-Rônaq⁵¹⁹ (206), one of the num-

⁵¹⁶ Butler, loc. cit.

⁵¹⁷ ANNUAL XIV, p. 54.

⁵¹⁸ Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 404. 484, has arbitrarily identified this site with Ja'zer of Numbers 32, 1 f.

⁵¹⁹ Conder, p. 152.

erous, strongly built circular towers, of which there are several in the vicinity of 'Ammân. It is situated on a rise, in the midst of fertile, cultivated fields, which are ploughed up to the very walls of the structure. Qaşr eş-Şâr is visible to the w. s. w. On its e. side, it overlooks a terraced slope leading down gradually to the small Wâdî Umm edh-Dhebâ' below it. This *malfûf* tower is about 15 m. in diameter, with its walls averaging about 1.70 m. thick, built of great flint blocks. A typical building block measured 2.20 by 1.60 by .45 m., and another 2.08 by .90 by .40 m. In places it is still 5 courses high, equivalent to 2.65 m., although for the most part it is 3 or 4 courses high. There seems to



Fig. 54. Qaşr eş-Şâr, lk. e. s. e.

have been an entrance on the w. side of the tower, at the w. n. w. angle. About 100 m. away from this round tower to the s. s. e. are the almost completely destroyed and ploughed over remains of the site which it may originally have guarded, directly overlooking the small Wâdî Umm edh-Dhebâ'. This site, however, had been completely built over during Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods, to judge from the sherds, and nothing was left of the original EI structures which may have been there. The foundation walls of this site are dry built of roughly hewn flint blocks, measuring about 40 by 30 cm. Some column drums of limestone were found among these ruins. A small number of Roman-Byzantine sherds was found outside Qaşr er-Rônaq itself, and a larger number of unmistakable EI I-II sherds inside. Qaşr er-Rônaq was the first of the strongly built circular towers which we examined. Subsequently we were to find similar towers standing alone, or among groups

of buildings containing more conventional square and rectangular structures, built, however, in the same massive style. Sometimes, as the result of centuries of ploughing around these circular towers, not a single sherd could be found by them or inside of them. At other times, however, EI I-II sherds were found in and around them, particularly when they were located in large complexes of other types of buildings. These *malfûf* towers with their great, rudely cut blocks of stone must be considered as belonging to the Early Iron Age, with their history spanning both EI I and II. Whether they stood alone or in association with other buildings, these circular towers must have served as fortresses.⁵²⁰ Mackenzie has already described and planned several examples of this type of circular tower, generally characterized as *rujm malfûf*, in the immediate vicinity of 'Ammân.⁵²¹ The huge blocks of stone with which these circular towers were constructed have led previous investigators to assign them to the megalithic (?), late neolithic, chalcolithic and Early Bronze periods.⁵²² They are found throughout the e. half of South Gilead, and are always built in the same manner. There is no difference in type of construction between the "megalithic" circular towers and the square or rectangular fortresses with which they are sometimes found together on the same site. The decisive criterium is that of pottery, which has previously been either ignored, not found, or not recognized. When found, it is always EI I-II.

About a kilometre n. e. of Qaşr er-Rônaq is Şweifîyeh el-Gharbîyeh (205).

⁵²⁰ Mackenzie, *Megalithic Monuments of Rabbath Ammon at Amman*, PEFA 1911, pp. 23-4, 33-5, pl. IV. V; Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* I, p. 24.

⁵²¹ Mackenzie, pp. 15-40; so far as I can establish, "the dolmenic tomb" of Rujm Malfûf near 'Ammân, which Mackenzie, p. 34, believed to be of the same construction and date as the circular tower itself, no longer exists; cf. *Bulletin* 68, p. 18, n. 12; JPOS 1921, pp. 101-2; *Antiquity*, March 1938, p. 93.

⁵²² Mackenzie, pp. 35-36, 38; Watzinger, p. 24; McCown, *Bulletin* 39, p. 12; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, pp. 25-29; Yeivin, PEFQS 1934, pp. 189-191, and Père Vincent's correct criticism of Yeivin in RB 1937, p. 238, n. 3. In view of the now established date for these *malfûf* towers in South Gilead, there is no reason as such why at et-Tell ('Ai) "les vestiges bouleversés d'une structure située devant l'angle N.-E. de la citadelle et que le dessin provisoire classe à l'époque du Fer, en l'associant à des épaves qui chevauchent le rempart intérieur," to use Père Vincent's words in RB 1937, pp. 254-5, n. 2, should not in fact be EI. Père Vincent is inclined to regard the remains as "une maison absidale archaïque." He is influenced by the 'round-houses' at Jericho which Garstang assigns to the beginning of EB (*Syria* 1935, p. 354, Pl. LXII, 1), and which Père Vincent prefers to call aeneolithic with the 'apsidal' or 'circular' type. He is also influenced by the 'round-house' discovered at Tepe Gawra, which Speiser considers to be scarcely older than the beginning of the fourth millenium B.C. (*Bulletin* 62, p. 12).

It is on a rise on the plain above the e. side of the small Wādī Umm edh-Dhebā'. To the w. s. w.-s. w. across the *wādī* is visible Qaṣr er-Rônaq, and beyond it on top of its rise the outstanding ruin of Qaṣr eṣ-Şâr. Şweifiyeh el-Gharbîyeh is built on the edge of the plain overlooking the Wādī Umm edh-Dhebā', and on the strongly terraced slope leading down westward to it. It is a large, almost completely ruined site, most of whose houses are made of rudely cut flint blocks. One large, ruined building in approximately the center of the site, nearer the s. end, retains a good part of its w. wall. It is constructed of large, rudely dressed flint blocks, with its corners laid in headers and stretchers, much as at Qaṣr eṣ-Şâr. The wall is about 1.50 m. thick. An average header or stretcher in it measures 1.50 by .85 by .45 m. To judge from the construction of the wall alone, it seems possible to assign it, and the building of which it was a part, to the Early Iron Age. Most of the EI site has, however, disappeared as a result of extensive building over it especially during the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods. In addition to the EI wall, so designated because of its size and type of construction, a small number of EI I-II sherds was found. They also indicate the presence of an original EI settlement at Şweifiyeh el-Gharbîyeh. On the n. side of the site is a wall built of well cut, drafted limestone blocks, which are certainly Roman. Most of the ruins which cover a large area, consist of walls and foundations of fairly small flint blocks, which were used probably for the most part in the Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic periods. In addition to the EI I-II sherds, there were quantities of Roman sherds (including sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type, and fine thin hard-baked ware), Byzantine (including numerous painted sherds), and glazed and painted mediaeval Arabic sherds. There are numerous cisterns on the site, filled with debris, and also some ancient stone watering troughs. Clear traces of a Roman road can be seen leading to Qaṣr er-Rônaq.

A little more than a kilometre to the n. n. e. of Şweifiyeh el-Gharbîyeh is Rujm 'Obeid (209). It is a fairly small, almost completely ruined site, on top of a rise, in the midst of strongly terraced fields. To the east is edh-Dheinā, and on a rise to the n. n. e. is Rujm esh-Shmeisânî. There are some remains of the walls of the building, which once dominated the site, the best preserved wall being on the s. side. The walls are built of the large, roughly hewn flint blocks, characteristic of Qaṣr eṣ-Şâr or Qaṣr er-Rônaq. At the s. s. w. corner of the site is a large cistern, in addition to several others round about. A few of the sherds are EI, but are much worn. Numerous other sherds were found, a few being possibly Roman, but most of them being early Byzantine.

Less than a kilometre to the east of Rujm 'Obeid is the large, walled site,

called Kh. edh-Dheinā (208). It consists of a complex of rooms, enclosed within a common outer wall, and forming a massive, rectangular structure, in which the inhabitants of an entire small village dwelt at one time. Kh. edh-Dheinā is oriented n.-s., and measures roughly 60 by 22.50 m. The walls are built of the same great flint blocks that are common to the EI structures of this region, for Kh. edh-Dheinā also belongs to the Early Iron Age. It is situated on a low rise, in the midst of cultivated fields. The corners are built in the common header-stretcher fashion, while the lengths of the walls, in this site, as in the others discussed above, are built in rough rows with some approximation of headers and stretchers, and smaller stones placed between the rows to give them some approximate evenness. There is a maze of cross-walls and fallen stone debris inside the building. No cisterns were located, but some of them must exist covered by debris. Large quantities of EI I-II sherds were found, and practically no others. Rujm Shmeisânî is visible on a rise to the north of Kh. edh-Dheinā.

South of edh-Dheinā, and about a kilometre east of Şweifiyeh el-Gharbîyeh, is Şweifiyeh esh-Sherqîyeh (204). It is a small, completely destroyed site on the s. side of the 'Ammân-Wādî Sir road, and is situated in the midst of cultivated fields. There is nothing particularly distinguishable about the ruins. A small quantity of clear EI I-II sherds was found. 'Ammân is visible to the e. s. e.

About a kilometre s. e. of Şweifiyeh esh-Sherqîyeh is 'Abdûn (203). It is a small, strong fortress, situated on a rise, in the midst of cultivated fields. The ruined building is oriented n.-s., and measures 22.30 by 17.10 m. The n. side is the best preserved, being still 2 courses high on a foundation course. Several cross walls can be made out inside the ruin. A few EI I-II sherds were found, and also two Roman sherds of about the first century A. D. There are traces of a Roman (?) road leading past its e. side to Kh. 'Abdûn (200), less than a kilometre away to the s. e. It is a large, completely destroyed site, so covered with modern debris that it was difficult to find any sherds. However, a few Roman sherds were found, including several pieces of sigillata, and also some Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Continuing to the s. e. we came to Qaşr 'Abdûn (199), situated on a rise, with the Wādî 'Abdûn bending around its n., e., and s. sides. To the s. s. w., across the intervening *wādî*, on the top of the hill is Kh. Jehârâ, marked by a large modern house. 'Ammân is visible to the e. n. e. Qaşr 'Abdûn is oriented n.-s., and measures 38.60 by 35.65 m. The w. wall is the best preserved one, being in places still 4 courses high, which equals 1.50 m. The n. end of the w. wall is 7 courses high, equalling 2.60 m. To look at Qaşr 'Abdûn is to see that it is an EI structure, with its corners of large, roughly hewn flint blocks laid in headers

and stretchers, and its walls of rudely hewn flint blocks and boulders, with small stones inserted at intervals between them to affect a semblance of evenness. The inside of the *qaṣr* has been turned into a modern sheepfold. No cisterns are visible, but they must be present under the debris within and without the ruined building. A small quantity of worn EI I-II sherds was found, and also several early Roman sherds. The walls of the *qaṣr* seem to average about 1.50 m. thick. To the north of Kh. 'Abdûn, and separated from view of it by an intervening hill, is Kh. 'Abdûn etsh-Tsherkas (201). To the n. n. w. Shmeisânî is visible. It is a small, completely destroyed site on the brow of a hill, sloping down abruptly in terraced stages to the Wādî en-Neb'ah on its s. side. The site is marked by a mass of small flint blocks, with some larger ones among them. Whatever cisterns may have been present are apparently buried under the debris. Most of the sherds are mediaeval Arabic. There are some painted and ribbed Byzantine sherds, and several Roman, including some fragments of sigillata.

About 5 km. w. s. w. of 'Ammân is Kh. esh-Shmeisânî (214). 'Ammân is visible from the site, as is Rujm 'Obeid to the s. s. w. and edh-Dheinâ to the south, and a number of other sites in various directions. Situated on the top of a high hill, it commands a view of the entire country-side round about it and can be seen from a considerable distance on all sides. It was a key post in the system of defences which guarded the fertile plains west of 'Ammân. It is oriented w. s. w. by e. s. e., and measures 12.85 by 12 m. The walls, made of large, roughly shaped, rectangular flint blocks, are 1.60 m. wide. The e. wall is still 6 courses high, equalling 2 m. The e. and n. walls are, comparatively speaking, the best preserved. A large quantity of EI I-II sherds of all types was found. The slopes leading up to the hilltop on which the *khirbeh* is located are cultivated today, as they were in ancient times, and protected against erosion by strong, ancient terraces, which are visible particularly on the e. side. In most of this fertile farm area in the rolling plains west of 'Ammân, where comparatively intensive agriculture is carried on today, the land is held in place on the slopes of the numerous rises by ancient terraces, without which the land would have suffered much more during the centuries than it has. The modern possessors of the soil are content for the most part to rely upon the work of the farmers who preceded them hundreds of years ago, and do little to build new terraces or repair old ones, just as practically nothing is done to make available again the hundreds of ancient cisterns which are scattered about the country, and which require only cleaning and repairing to be made serviceable again. The lands which are in the hands of the Circassians are, however, comparatively well taken care of. There may have been a revetment around the walls of Kh. esh-Shmeisânî at one time, but the nature of

the ruins permits one only to guess at their former presence. On the e. and n. sides of the *khirbeh* are the remains of house and wall foundations. A cistern is visible below the w. side, and there are probably other ancient ones, which we did not locate, because they are covered by debris.

To the w. n. w., less than a kilometre away from Kh. esh-Shmeisânî, is Kh. Umm edh-Dhebâ' (215), situated on a rise in the midst of cultivated fields. There are numerous ancient and modern cisterns round about it, the ancient ones belonging for the most part apparently to the Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic periods, although some of them may be earlier, particularly one below the s. w. corner of the site. There is a large amount of modern debris, in which some Byzantine, and a large number of mediaeval Arabic painted and glazed sherds was found. A few much worn sherds were found which are probably EI. The nature of the ruined flint block structure, which is similar in type to the other structures of large, rudely shaped flint blocks discussed above, which we have assigned to the Early Iron Age, also makes for the identification of this site as EI I-II. It is oriented n.-s., and measures approximately 11.80 by 10.50 m. The walls are 1.50 m. thick. There may have been an entrance in the w. wall. The s. w. corner is still 7 courses high, which amounts to 3.45 m.

Somewhat less than 2 km. to the west of Kh. Umm edh-Dhebâ', on top of a hill is a large, completely ruined flint block site, called Kh. Umm es-Semmâk (216). There are some modern dwellings among the ruins, which are partly inhabited. Among the piles of modern debris, we were able to find some Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds, indicating the periods of settlement of the site, besides the modern one.

About a kilometre to the south of Kh. Umm es-Semmâk is Rujm Hanō-tîyeh (211). It is much destroyed, but the outlines of it can be made out. It is oriented e.-w., and seems to be about 28 m. square. Our measurements showed 28 m. for the n. side, and 27.50 m. for the w. side. The walls are made of large, roughly hewn flint blocks. The wall on the w. side is still two courses high, and measures 1.20 m. thick. The impression that this structure was originally EI was heightened by the presence of a small number of EI I-II sherds. There were also several Roman, early Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic glazed and painted sherds. In the center of the walled area is a large cistern, and another at the s. w. corner, the latter being a particularly well preserved, pear-shaped cistern, lined with stones at the top, still well cemented on the insides. The rise on which the site is situated was well terraced, apparently first in the Early Iron Age.

Less than half a kilometre to the s. w. of it, on a rise across the small, intervening valley, is Kh. Hanōtîyeh (210). It is a large site, in the midst of

cultivated fields, and is marked by the ruins of several large buildings, the main one of which seems to measure about 36 m. square. The walls are made of roughly hewn, large flint blocks. The n. w. corner of the main building is still 5 courses high, and the n. e. corner is still fairly intact, but the e. wall is almost completely gone. Inside this building can be seen traces of various rooms, one of which, at the n. e. corner, is particularly clear. The lines of the walls inside this building, as the lines of the other buildings on the site, are almost completely obscured by a maze of fallen stones, and cannot in their present state be measured. A small number of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds was found, in addition to several EI I-II sherds. During the post-EI periods of occupation, the dwellings were erected beyond the walls of the main EI building, particularly on its e. and s. sides. Several cisterns are visible, and others must be hidden underneath the masses of fallen stones.

About 2 km. west of Kh. el-Hanōṭīyeh is Kh. el-Kursī (213). It is a great, much ruined, circular fortress, whose inner diameter measures 16 m. The best preserved section of the outer facing of the wall of the great tower is at the n. e. angle, being still 11 courses, 6 m. high. The inside of the tower is filled with debris to its top. On the inside, however, near the s. e. angle, there are traces of a circular opening, faced with well laid stones, which may have been a cistern, but which was probably a staircase, giving access to the top of the tower, where an excellent lookout could be kept on the surrounding rich, cultivated, somewhat undulating upland plains. The wall of the tower is 3 m. thick, with almost half a metre of flint rubble between the inner and outer facings. If the thickness of the outer wall is taken into consideration, then the diameter of the tower is 22 m. The large flint blocks with which the wall is constructed average 1.50 by .75 by .50 m. A short distance beyond the circular fortress tower to the s. s. e. are the remains of a small number of flint block houses. Kh. el-Kursī immediately overlooks the Wādī Dabûq, which bends by it from the n. w. to the s. s. w. Fertile fields stretch beyond the top of the e. side of the *wādī*, with the strong fortress tower guarding them. Even without the small number of worn EI I-II sherds, which in addition to several pieces of 'Pergamene' type of sigillata and other Roman sherds, and several early Byzantine sherds, were found by Kh. el-Kursī, we should have had no hesitation in designating this great circular tower as belonging to the Early Iron Age. It is the finest example of the *malfûf* tower we have found in all of the e. half of South Gilead, and is also the best preserved one. It would be well to clear the debris inside the tower, and to work out its architecture. We found no cisterns, but they must be present under the debris either inside or outside the tower. The great flint blocks with which this tower is constructed

are of the same type as those which went into the construction of the other circular, square, and rectangular EI fortresses that we have described in this region, and of those that we came across later on in this region and elsewhere. There is a type of architecture, a manner of building, with a peculiarity of cutting or rather rudely shaping the stones, that is common to all these EI sites mentioned above, and which, as we shall see, is peculiarly characteristic of a number of important sites in the Beq'ah, and stamps them as belonging to one period. This period, as we have seen, and shall have further opportunity to show, is the Early Iron Age. These structures speak well for the high development of the civilization which produced them in the Early Iron Age. It was no light task then, and it would not be an easy one now even with modern lifting devices, to hoist the great, heavy flint blocks into position. How that was done in the Early Iron Age is a moot question. Perhaps earth ramps were used. Furthermore, the large number of these strongly built EI sites in the 'Ammân region indicates the intricate development of the defence organization which was perfected then, and points to the intensive cultivation, as do the many terraces from the EI period, of the fertile slopes they guarded. Only thriving communities could have afforded to build such numerous and strongly built settlements and fortresses, and only a dynamic people and kingdom could have had the ability to erect them. The EI civilization of this region stands not behind that of Moab and Edom. Indeed it is seen that in the areas of Transjordan which we have thus far explored more or less thoroughly, extending to the Wâdī Zerqâ (the river Jabbok), the Early Iron Age was a particularly well advanced and developed one in the history of Eastern Palestine.

To the north of Kh. el-Kursī, less than a kilometre away, and a short distance from the top of the e. side of the Wâdī Dabûq, is another ruined fortress, called el-Qeṣeir (217). It is situated on a rise, amidst cultivated fields, which, as by most of these sites, are ploughed up to the very edge of the ruins. It overlooks a large expanse of rich farm land, and is built of the same large, rudely hewn flint blocks as Kh. el-Kursī and the other strongly built structures of the same type that we have mentioned thus far. It is oriented e.-w., and measures 17.50 by 16.00 m. There is not very much of it left, only its n. e. and n. w. corners being comparatively well preserved, particularly the latter. The wall at the n. w. corner, laid in headers and stretchers, is still 6 courses high, measuring 3 m. The walls are 1.90 m. thick, with some rubble between the inner and outer facings. No sherds were found, but it seems reasonable to believe that this site, whose general type of construction is similar to the numerous other EI structures of this type, also belongs to the Early Iron Age.

About 1.5 km. e. s. e. of el-Qeṣeir, overlooking the small Wâdī el-Kursī

below its w. side, is Kh. Kursī esh-Sherqīyeh (212), a strongly built site, of which only the lower courses remain for the most part. It is oriented n. n. w. by s. s. e. and measures 28 by 38 m. The walls, built of great flint blocks, are 2 m. thick. The n. w. corner is the best preserved part of the ruined structure, being still 5 courses high, amounting to 2.35 m. Most of the n. wall and most of the e. wall have disappeared. Inside the *khirbeh* is a filled-up cistern. No distinguishable sherds could be found, but even without the help towards dating the *khirbeh* which they would have afforded, it seems probable that this site too is to be assigned to the Early Iron Age.

About 2 km. n. n. w. of Kh. el-Kursī is Dabûq⁵²³ (218), situated on a high knoll in a somewhat less fertile area than we have been describing thus far. The lines of a Roman road can be seen below the s. e. end of the knoll going n. e.-s. w. Dabûq is a large, completely destroyed site with a modern house in the middle of the ruins. The slopes of the knoll and the fields below it are cultivated today. There were several ancient cisterns visible by the ruin, in addition to a modern one. Sigillata fragments and other Roman sherds were found, in addition to some Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

3 km. e. n. e. of Dabûq is Kheldā, an inhabited village, built over the ruins of an ancient site. It may be said of many, if not most of the modern villages in the areas in Transjordan we have thus far examined, that they are built over ancient sites, because of the same reasons which impelled their predecessors to build their houses there, namely water, roads, and possibilities of agricultural pursuits. The topographical and economic factors which conditioned the march of events in the past on the whole affect the life of the inhabitants of Transjordan today in much the same wise. Many ancient sites have been completely obliterated. In others, as in Kheldā, remains of antiquity can still be viewed. Most of the ancient sites remain unoccupied in modern times. In the courtyard of one of the houses in the village of Kheldā is a plain mosaic floor, abutting on a large sarcophagus, used as a grain bin. It is probably Roman in origin. An ancient vaulted chamber, the remains of which are visible immediately north of this courtyard, is probably Byzantine in origin. No sherds were found in the village proper.

About a kilometre east of the village of Kheldā, situated on a rise, above some modern houses, is Qaşr el-Kheldā (231). It is a large, strongly built flint block site, oriented e.-w. It measures 46.50 by 37.50 m. Several cisterns are visible by the s. w. corner, where also a modern house has been built. The rooms which must once have existed inside of this ancient structure are no longer visible; the interior of the walled area is a blank, stony space. The

⁵²³ Aug. 3, 1937.

walls are built of great limestone blocks, one of them measured at random being 3.30 by 1.10 by .50 m. No distinguishable sherds were found. To judge from its general type of construction, however, one may assume that it was originally erected in the Early Iron Age.

Several hundred metres to the s. s. w. of Qaşr el-Kheldā, below the foot of the rise on which Qaşr el-Kheldā is situated, is another ruined structure called Qaşr el-Kheldā el-Janūbiyeh (230). It is oriented w. s. w. by e. n. e., and measures 34.50 by 28 m. It is almost completely destroyed, its building blocks being much smaller than those of the main *qaşr*. A small number of fine sigillata sherds was found by it, and a few other nondescript sherds. It is impossible to say exactly to which period this ruin belongs, but in all probability it also is to be assigned to the Early Iron Age. The impression that this Qaşr el-Kheldā el-Janūbiyeh is an EI site is heightened by the fact that about 150 m. e. n. e. of it is a circular watch-tower made of large blocks, in the fashion of the circular watch-towers that we have discussed above. The total diameter of this *rujm malfûf* is 10 m. It is in a much ruined condition.

Some 3.5 km. w.-w. n. w. of 'Ammân is one of the largest and also one of the best preserved of the *rujûm malfûf*. It is called simply Rujm Malfûf ⁵²⁴ (202) and is situated on a small rise on the n. side of the 'Ammân-Wādī Sîr road, overlooking on its n. side the Wādī es-Saqrah below, which runs approximately e.-w. It is built of great flint blocks, being in places still 12 courses, 4.80 m. high. The walls are about 2.50 m. thick, with a thickness of two stones. The inner n.-s. diameter is 15.80 m., while the inner e.-w. diameter is 14.90 m. A small quantity of worn EI I-II sherds was found in the ploughed fields immediately around the site, in addition to some early Byzantine sherds. It is not clear exactly where the entrance to the circular tower lay, but it may have been on the e. side, where there is a gap in the wall. Abutting the e. ends of the n. and s. sides of the circular tower, extending beyond them to the north and south, and continuing in a large rectangle to the east, is a series of strongly built walls, which once enclosed a number of rooms. Many of these walls are so disarranged and built around or over in modern times, that it is hard to disentangle them, but the main outlines which Mackenzie has drawn in his plan undoubtedly represent the lines of the rectangular building-complex which was contemporary with the circular tower. It is probable that the circular tower was built first, and then the rectangular building-complex after it in the Early Iron Age, but there was probably no great time lag between them. It will be seen below ⁵²⁵ that in the Beq'ah are EI sites mas-

⁵²⁴ Oct. 25, 1937. Cf. Mackenzie, pp. 22-24. 33-35; and Pl. IV for the plan of the site; see above nn. 520-522.

⁵²⁵ See pp. 191-200; cf. *Bulletin* 68, pp. 18-21.

sively built with great flint blocks, and that also in some of them in connection with square or rectangular buildings are to be found circular towers. In other words, the type of the *rujm malfûf* did not represent an isolated manner of building in an age all of its own in some dim early historic or prehistoric past, but was a definite part of the architecture which prevailed in a large part of South Gilead and 'Ammôn during the Early Iron Age. *Rujûm malfûf* are found either alone or in connection with other building complexes. In all cases, the round tower served a defensive military purpose. In places where there are other buildings in connection with it, the round tower may frequently have been erected first, to afford the settlers a measure of security while the rest of the usually abutting or adjacent massive buildings were being erected. This need not, however, necessarily be the case, because the round tower and the rest of the building complex may have been erected at the same time, the round tower being perhaps considered the strongest part of the settlement, and the place of last refuge. Watzinger's attempt to find contemporary analogies for the *rujûm malfûf* in Egypt at about the time of the second dynasty at Abydos⁵²⁶ may be excused on the score that at the time he made the interesting suggestion no new information had been forthcoming with regard to the date of the construction of these round towers. Aside from the evidence already adduced indicating that these *rujûm malfûf* belonged to the Early Iron Age, it may be furthermore pointed out that their association with other buildings compels one to assign them to some historical age. The only other possible period to which they might have belonged would be the end of the Early Bronze Age, because from the Wâdî Zerqâ as far as 'Aqabah there is no period of occupation between the end of the first phase of Middle Bronze and the beginning of Early Iron. That these *rujûm malfûf* cannot belong to the Early Bronze Age is shown by the fact that they have never been found on any site which might possibly be dated to the Early Bronze, while most of them have been found on sites which definitely do belong to the Early Iron Age. It is noteworthy that these *rujûm malfûf* have not thus far been found in Western Palestine, and seem indeed to be a peculiarity of the e. half of South Gilead. That they have not been found in Western Palestine serves only to emphasize what has already been abundantly clear from the main characteristics of the EI civilizations of Moab and Edom and South Gilead and 'Ammôn in general, and in particular from the peculiarities of the pottery of these parts of Eastern Palestine during the Early Iron Age. While the EI pottery of Eastern Palestine has definite relationships and even in part similarities to the EI pottery of Western Palestine, it nevertheless belongs to an easily distinguishable category of its own, not to speak of differences which may

⁵²⁶ Watzinger, p. 24.

be made within this particular category. Apparently the distinctive influences reflected in the EI pottery of Eastern Palestine, as far as we have examined it thus far, are to be sought to the north, perhaps in southern Syria rather than to the west in Cisjordan. While we are not prepared to trace the origins of the *rujûm malfûf* in Transjordan, it is clear that they emphasize the independence of EI civilization in Transjordan from that in Cisjordan. One of the reasons for the massive construction of the *rujûm malfûf* and the square or rectangular sites together with which they are sometimes found, is that the native flint which abounds in the region was used in much the same fashion as the blocks were hewn from the rock. Flint blocks were used in later periods of occupation in Transjordan also, being always hewn into smaller shapes than those that characterized the EI constructions.

On the s. side of the 'Ammân-Wâdī Sîr road, about a kilometre or less s. w.-s. s. w. of the Rujm Malfûf on the n. side of the road is another, but smaller circular tower, also called Rujm Malfûf⁵²⁷ (202). Built likewise of large flint blocks, with walls of two stones' thickness about 2 m. thick, this *rujm malfûf* is about 13 m. in diameter. It is still in places 6 courses high, equalling 1.90 m., particularly on the s. w. side. There seems to have been an entrance at the n.-n. n. e. angle. In front of this entrance way(?), is a large, triangularly shaped block of stone, with a hole in it, in which a doorpost may have rested. Mackenzie⁵²⁸ says with regard to this stone:

"A curious fallen block on this side (the n. side), rising to a shallow angle above, suggests that it may have fitted into a triangular aperture of splayed masonry, meant to relieve pressure on the lintel of this doorway. This interval above the doorway to obviate fracture of the lintel is a common device in the architecture of the megalithic world, while the triangular masking block attains to its apotheosis in the Lion Gate at Mycenae."

There may have been a staircase inside the tower leading to its top, from which vantage point a sharp lookout could be kept upon the surrounding country-side. Signals could easily be given to the larger Rujm Malfûf to the n. e. of it, which in turn could be relayed to 'Ammân, where in all likelihood during the Early Iron Age a strong, massively built settlement must have existed, comparable to Kh. Muḍmâr⁵²⁹ in the Beq'ah and Kh. eṣ-Ṣweiwînâ south of 'Ammân. This Rujm Malfûf is situated on a gentle slope rising from the south and mounting towards the north, where the first Rujm Malfûf is located, overlooking the Wâdī Saqrah, as we have seen. Also by the smaller of these two *rujûm*, a small quantity of worn EI I-II sherds was found, in

⁵²⁷ Mackenzie, pp. 19-21, and pl. III for a plan of the site.

⁵²⁸ Mackenzie, pp. 19. 21.

⁵²⁹ *Bulletin* 68, pp. 1. 16. 19.

addition to one early Byzantine ribbed sherd. If the present quarrying operations being illicitly conducted at these *rujûm malfûf* are not soon halted, their massive stones being broken and hauled to 'Ammân, there will soon be nothing left of these monuments which have survived for three millennia.

About 3 km. s.-s. w. of 'Ammân are the extensive ruins of a large EI village, called eṣ-Ṣweiwînâ (198). It is situated in the midst of cultivated fields on the top of an elongated rise, and is oriented n.-s. It is a great mass of ruins of strongly built structures of the massive flint-block type that we have been discussing above. It covers an area of approximately 175 by 125 m. which is today a stony, abandoned waste, littered with fallen building blocks, and filled with almost completely destroyed foundation walls, among which a number of more or less ruined, massively constructed buildings are still standing. Others have been so completely razed that it would require much clearing of fallen debris before their outlines could be fixed. Eṣ-Ṣweiwînâ represents one of the largest and most strongly built EI settlements that we have come across thus far in our survey of Transjordan, extending from 'Aqabah to the Wâdî Zerqâ. The only other site that really compares with it is, as we have already noted above, Kh. Muḍmâr, although as we shall see, there are several sites in the e. half of South Gilead which are of a related type. Of the buildings at eṣ-Ṣweiwînâ which are still standing to a greater or lesser degree, there were six of which we took hasty measurements. A regular campaign of work is required properly to plan these and all of the other buildings there, and to clear away the debris which conceals some of their foundations. Near the s. e. end of the built over area is Qaṣr I. It is oriented e.-w., and measures 12.80 by 11.80 m. The walls, which are made of large, rude flint blocks, are 1.50 m. thick. The w. end of the s. wall is still 10 courses high, amounting to 4.50 m. The n. end of the e. wall is still 9 courses, 4.40 m. high. One of the stretchers at the w. end of the s. wall measures 2.30 by 1.10 by .80 m. The n. wall is tumbled down in the center. Almost in the same line, but about 22.50 m. north of Qaṣr I, is Qaṣr II. It is oriented n.-s., and measures 15.30 by 13.40 m., the walls being 1.50 m. thick. All of the buildings at eṣ-Ṣweiwînâ are built in the same manner, with large, rudely hewn flint blocks, and with the corners set in headers and stretchers. The n. e. and s. w. corners are the best preserved parts of the walls in this *qaṣr*. Continuing north about 100 m. on the same line, past a number of completely ruined buildings on this line and to the east and west of it, is Qaṣr III, which is oriented e.-w. and measures 13.50 by 12.90 m. Its n. wall is well preserved to an average of about 8 courses high. Beyond this building to the north and to the east are other ruins razed to the ground. A series of foundations of various buildings can be followed for about 75 m. west of the n. w. wall of this

building. Starting about 60 m. west of this point, and continuing about 12 m. south, are the ruins of a fourth *qaṣr*, oriented e.-w., which measures about 21 by 18 m. Only the outlines of this *qaṣr* can be traced. About 10 m. south of it is Qaṣr V, a fairly well preserved building, with apparently an entrance way on the n. side. One of the door jambs is lying in front of it. The *qaṣr* is oriented n.-s., and measures 14.70 by 13.80 m. The entrance way seems to be near the w. end of the n. side, and measuring from west to east is 1.70 m. wide. There seemed to be traces of steps leading up to it. The n. w. corner of this *qaṣr* is still 9 courses, 4.20 m. high. Continuing south, past a



Fig. 55. Qaṣr VI at eṣ-Ṣweiwīnā, lk. n. n. w.

number of additional, completely ruined buildings for another 65 m., and then turning east for about 24 m., we came to the s. w. corner of Qaṣr VI, one of the best preserved buildings on the site (Fig. 55)). It is oriented w.-e., and measures 13 by 10.70 m. The w. wall is 8 courses high. The n. e. corner is 7 courses, 3.40 m. high. From the s. e. corner of Qaṣr VI to the middle of the w. wall of Qaṣr II is about 29 m. We did not see any cisterns, but there must be considerable numbers of them buried under the debris. Large quantities of EI I-II sherds were found on the site, in addition to some fine, early Roman sherds, and considerable numbers of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. It seems that many of the EI buildings continued in some use throughout the subsequent periods also. One wonders, considering the proximity of this site to 'Ammān, whether there was once a similar EI town at 'Ammān where there is such a fine spring. It would seem probable that there must

have been a large EI settlement there. The modern city, however, has destroyed whatever traces of the EI site which may have been left after the great building operations conducted there by the Romans when they constructed the great city of Philadelphia, whose former glory is testified to today practically only by the monumental theatre.⁵³⁰

Somewhat more than a kilometre south of eṣ-Ṣweiwīnā is Rujm Ṭaiḥīn (196). It is situated on top of a conically shaped hill crowning a long rise, at 974 m., and is visible for miles round about. It seemed from the distance like an ideal site for an EI watch tower, but when we actually examined the site, we could find no indubitable proof that it had been occupied during the Early Iron Age. There is a small circular mound on top of the hill, which is completely covered over with smoothed-off debris, and absolutely nothing can be made out of it in its present state. There are traces of strong terrace (?) walls on the top sides of the hill. Most of the sherds found there with difficulty were Byzantine, with the exception of a few very worn sherds which might have been EI, but then again might have been something else. Only excavations could tell with some measure of certainty what the original period of occupation on this most strategically situated hill was. The circular nature of the mound on top of the hill does suggest the possibility that one of the *rujûm malfûf* may have been located there.

About a kilometre east of Rujm Ṭaiḥīn, in the midst of cultivated fields, and but a short distance w. s. w. of the small railway station, called Qaṣr Station, is the ruin of a large, strongly built *qaṣr*, called Qaṣr el-Waṣīyeh (197). Built apparently on a strong, platform-like foundation, the *qaṣr*, which is now for the most part a mass of tumbled down building blocks, is oriented e. s. e.-w. n. w., and measures about 25 by 19.80 m. It is built of great blocks of limestone, and also some flint blocks. One of the stretchers at the n. w. corner measures 2.00 by 1.00 by .80 m. The middle of the w. wall is still 5 courses, 3.50 m. high. The s. and the e. walls are the least well preserved. The walls seem to be about 2.50 m. thick, but a considerable amount of clearing will be necessary before this can be established with complete correctness. A large cistern is visible on the n. side of the *qaṣr*. There may be other cisterns buried under the fallen debris. There are traces of a glacis built against the walls of the *qaṣr*. Situated on a low rise, it can be seen on the w. side of the main road, as one goes southward from 'Ammān. It is another of the massively built fortresses which protected the fertile fields of the 'Ammān region. Numerous EI I-II sherds were found by it.

We do not imagine that the *rujûm malfûf* and the *quṣûr*, and groups of buildings such as those at eṣ-Ṣweiwīnā housed all of the inhabitants of the

⁵³⁰ Conder, pp. 35-37.

land. Many of them probably dwelt in tents during much of the year, and repaired to their strong stone villages and fortresses only during the winter, or when danger threatened. It may, nevertheless, be said that during the Early Iron Age, for instance, not to mention the Roman and Byzantine periods, many more permanent structures were erected than by the present-day owners of the soil. It is difficult to arrive at an estimate of the numbers of people dwelling in Transjordan during the Early Iron Age, but to judge from the intensiveness of cultivation, which was much greater than that of today, and the number of sites, one may say that the population then was at least half again that of the present 300,000. The resultant figure of 450,000 may be doubled for the Nabataean-Roman and Byzantine periods. The estimates are based on present and past archaeological explorations in Transjordan. The inhabitants of the land during the EB IV-MB I period also were possessed of a highly developed agricultural civilization, to judge from the great walled sites they erected, the fine pottery they made, the highways they used, and the intensiveness with which they cultivated the soil.

The pottery of EB IV-MB I seems to be uniform throughout the entire length and breadth of the land.⁵³¹ (We have not yet examined the Jordan valley, with the exception of Tell Mustâḥ,⁵³² which is somewhat east of it, and whose pottery is to be assigned to EB I-II.) Furthermore, aside from occasional differences in texture caused frequently by differences in the clays which were available, the EB-MB pottery of Transjordan and Cisjordan is the same. Culturally then, during the EB IV-MB I period the lands on both sides of the Jordan seem to have been a unit. During the Early Iron Age, however, they seem to have been two separate entities, although not without close connections with each other. The orientation of Transjordan during EI I-II, and during the succeeding historical periods, seems to have been for the most part to the north and south rather than to the west,⁵³³ as we have already pointed out.^{533a} The EB IV-MB I inhabitants of Transjordan were somewhat more dependent upon springs than the EI I-II inhabitants. It has been our experience, that frequently where there is a strong spring somewhere in the vicinity, either on the slope leading away from it, or on top of the hill overlooking it, a great EB IV-MB I site may be found. If not immediately near a spring, the EB IV-MB I inhabitants of the land chose with especial

⁵³¹ Wright's judgment, *Bulletin* 71, p. 34, that the EB IV-MB I pottery of "Gilead, Ammon (in part) and Bashan must probably be treated separately from Moab and Edom," will apply in all probability only to the pottery of North Gilead and Bashan.

⁵³² Cf. Abel, RB 39 (1930), pp. 214-5; 41 (1932), pp. 77-8; Mallon, *Biblica* 10 (1929), pp. 94. 97-8.

⁵³³ *Bulletin* 65, p. 12.

^{533a} See above pp. 166-7.

predilection the top of a high, elongated, completely isolated hill, which they surrounded with a great wall, and inside which they built their permanent houses, watch-towers, and fortresses, and also carried on some cultivation of the soil, in addition to the farming they practised on the slopes of the hills and the valleys that stretched along their bases. On the whole, comparatively few cisterns have been found on such hill-top sites, and the question how they supplied themselves with water is still a moot one. They may have brought it daily from the nearest springs, as do the inhabitants of many villages in Transjordan today, even when in certain instances today it means sometimes a distance of a kilometre or more to the nearest water.

About 3.5 km. e. s. e. of Şuweileh, and about 9 km. n. w. of 'Ammân, on a rise on the n. side of the Şuweileh-'Ammân road, is a *rujm malfûf*, called Rujm el-Jebeiḥah.⁵³⁴ (234). Kh. Shmeisânî is visible on its high hill to the south, and 'Ammân is visible in the distance to the s. e. The total diameter of this strongly built round tower is 15 m., the walls being about 2 m. thick. The walls built of massive limestone blocks are preserved on the average 3 courses high, but at the s. s. w. angle they are preserved 5 courses, 3 m. high. On the e. n. e. side of this circular tower was evidently an entrance-way, with two large door jambs, measuring respectively about 2.00 by 1.00 by .40 m. Beside them lies a large, almost semi-circular stone-block, with one straight side, which may well have served as the lintel of the door-way; it seems similar in purpose, if not exactly in shape, to the large, triangular stone-block found at Rujm Malfûf.⁵³⁵ To judge only from the nature of this *rujm malfûf*, one could assign it to the Early Iron Age by reason of its relationship to the other *rujûm malfûf*, which we have discussed above, and which, as has been shown, belong to that period. In addition, several indubitable EI I-II sherds were found by Rujm el-Jebeiḥah, which further point to the time of its existence.

More than a kilometre to the south of Rujm el-Jebeiḥah is Rujm el-Quṭnah (233). It is situated on top of a hill on the s. side of the Şuweileh-'Ammân road. It is a large, completely destroyed site, consisting of a maze of house and wall foundations, among which are numerous caves and cave-cisterns. On the s. e. side are the remains of a small *birkeh*. Sigillata and other Roman sherds were found, as well as a number of Byzantine and numerous mediaeval Arabic sherds. There were some large stone-blocks, which might possibly have belonged to an earlier period. That there was an occupation of this site during the Early Iron Age is indicated by several EI I-II sherds which were found there, in addition to the above mentioned sherds.

Less than half a kilometre to the south of it is a small site, called el-Quṭnah

⁵³⁴ Aug. 3, 1937.

⁵³⁵ See above p. 167.

el-Janūbīyeh (232), which consists of the ruins of two small blockhouses on the top of a hillock, with a large cistern between them. The two small buildings were constructed of limestone and some flint blocks. A small number of Roman and Byzantine sherds was found, as well as eight clear EI I-II sherds, indicating an original EI occupation of this site. All of the area between Šuweileḥ and 'Ammân is fertile, and these sites were in their day, as their ruins are today, in the midst of cultivated fields.

To the e. s. e. of el-Quṭnah on the n. side of the road is Rujm Juweidī'eh (235), situated on a rise in the midst of cultivated fields. It is an almost completely destroyed, strongly built structure. It is oriented n.-s., and measures 15.50 by 14.50 m. The n. w. corner is the best preserved part of the structure, being 8 courses, 4.60 m. high. Only a few nondescript sherds were found, but to judge from the general nature and style of the building, we think that it can be safely assigned to the Early Iron Age.

On the s. side of the 'Ammân-Šuweileḥ road, and south of Juweidī'eh is a large, completely destroyed site, with a number of cisterns visible. It is called Kh. el-Fereidīyeh. No distinguishable sherds were found. It seems to be a Roman-Byzantine site.

About 2 km. s. e. of Rujm Juweidī'eh is Kh. el-Weibdeh (236), situated on a rise in the midst of cultivated fields, which are terraced on the n., n. e., and e. sides, and slope down to the small *wādī* below the site. There is a large cistern at the w. s. w. end of the site. Several pieces of sigillata with reddish core and a number of other Roman sherds were found. There is some question as to whether Kh. el-Weibdeh is the correct name of the site. About half a kilometre to the n. n. e. on the n. side of the Wādī Juweidī'eh is Rujm 'Erjân (237). It is a completely destroyed flint block site, consisting apparently of the ruins of a small blockhouse in a walled area. A few Roman and Byzantine sherds were found there. On top of the hill above it to the n. n. w. is another completely ruined, rather large site, called Kh. 'Erjân (238), marked by large numbers of fallen building blocks. There are several cave-cisterns visible. Several EI I-II sherds were found, and also some fine pieces of 'Pergamene' type of sigillata and other Roman sherds, and also some Byzantine sherds.

Less than a kilometre to the n. n. e. is Kh. 'Erjân esh-Shemālīyeh (239), situated on the fairly flat top of a high, isolated hill which commands an excellent view of the surrounding country-side. In the distance to the s. e. and the s. s. w., 'Ammân and Kh. Shmeisānī are visible. Signals could easily have been exchanged between these three places, and then relayed to the sites in their immediate vicinity. The district which centers around the hill on which 'Erjân is situated is more hilly, and is less fertile and less cultivated

today than the rich upland-plains between Wādī Sîr, Şuweileh, and 'Ammân. At the n. end of 'Erjân is a ruined building, and at the s. end, about 50 m. removed from it, is another building complex. There seems to be a small *birkeh* at the s. end, and there is a large cistern on the e. side. The slopes of the hill were anciently terraced. The ruined *qaşr* at the n. end of the site is oriented n.-s., and measures 16 by 13.80 m. The walls made of rough, almost unshaped limestone blocks, except for the roughly hewn headers and stretchers at the corners, average 4 courses, 1.70 m. in height. Smaller stones set between the larger ones keep the courses fairly even. The walls are 1.70 m. thick. At the s. end of the site are the ruins of three buildings, only one of which is comparatively intact. It is on the n. side of this building-complex. It is oriented n.-s., and measures about 15 m. square. A large number of EI I-II sherds was found at Kh. 'Erjân esh-Shemāliyah, many of them at the s. end, but most of them at the n. end of the site. There were also several early Roman sherds. It is possible that the space between the two building complexes may once have been enclosed within a wall, which extended from the sides of the buildings at either end of the site.

About 5 km. n. of 'Ammân, and about 1.5 km. n. w. of Qaşr Nuweijis is Kh. el-Beider⁵³⁶ (Thôghat el-Beidā) (240). It is a very large, almost completely ruined site, situated on the top of an outstanding, flat-topped hill, and was once completely enclosed within a great wall, the outlines of which can still be more or less traced. This hill is a landmark for many kilometres round about, and situated as it is in the midst of rolling, somewhat broken, but on the whole fertile upland plains, it is but natural that it should have been selected for the construction of a settlement in ancient times. 'Ammân is visible to the south. Kh. el-Beider is about the same distance north of 'Ammân as eş-Şweiwînā is south of it. Both great sites were occupied primarily during the Early Iron Age and were bound together obviously in the same defensive system, which integrated all of these large and small strongly built sites. The great walled site, which, from its location on top of a long hill-top enclosed within a wall, looked at first like an EB IV-MB I site, but turned out to be solely an EI I-II site, is oriented approximately n.-s., and measures about 115 by 70 m. From the w. to the n. e. sides, the hill on which the site is built is bounded at its base by the Wādī Dafyāneh. On the e. and s. e. side is the Wādī Nuweijis. It seems that the outer wall may have been about 1.5 m. thick. However, in no place is it now sufficiently clear to determine its width exactly. There has been so much ploughing inside and outside the walls of the site that no one building is left intact, and only jumbles of fallen stones are visible. Thus the ruins of several buildings are more or less

⁵³⁶ Aug. 4, 1937.

visible at the n. end of the enclosed area, and one at the s. w. end, which is about 11.50 m. square, and guards a tangent in the wall. The building blocks of limestone which are used in the corners of the buildings are roughly dressed, and measure about 1.00 by .70 by .40 m. The walls proper were made of rough blocks of stone, laid in rude courses, made somewhat even by the smaller stones between them. The n. w. corner of the building at the n. w. end of the site is visible, and is laid in headers and stretchers. The main building

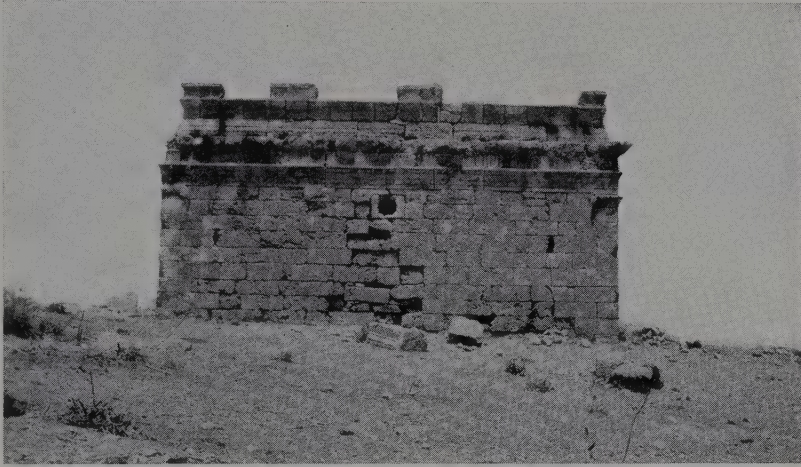


Fig. 56. Qaṣr Nuweijis, s. wall.

at the n. end of the site is completely ruined, with the exception of its n. w. corner, which is preserved to a height of 4 courses, 1.80 m. Large quantities of coarse and fine EI I-II sherds of all kinds were found inside of the ruined area and on the slopes outside it. In addition there were some pieces of 'Pergamene' sigillata, and several other Roman sherds were picked up. At the n. end of the site is an ancient cistern reused today, and two others are visible at the n. w. end. There are probably other cisterns buried under the debris inside the walls.

About 1.5 km. s. e. of Kh. el-Beider is Qaṣr Nuweijis (241), which has been planned and described by Conder.⁵³⁷ It is a well built tomb-tower, or mausoleum, measuring 14 m. square, and is oriented e. s. e.-w. n. w. The e. front side is considerably ruined, and its decorations are much mutilated. The n. wall also has suffered considerably. The s. and w. walls are the best preserved

⁵³⁷ Conder, pp. 172-4; PA II, p. 211.

(Fig. 56). Inside the *qaṣr* in each corner is a small chamber, and according to Conder "a large masonry recess under an arch on each wall,"⁵³⁸ which we did not see, because we did not enter the building. The roof consists of a dome rising on true spherical pendentives⁵³⁹ between the side arches, and supporting a large stone urn on the crown (Fig. 57).^{*} A parapet almost a metre high and wide runs around the flat part of the roof. The corner pilasters decorating the outer wall have capitals of Ionic type. A fluted frieze



Fig. 57. Domed roof and urn on top of Qaṣr Nuweijis.

runs around three sides of the *qaṣr*, the exception being the e. side, which has a sculptured frieze with scroll patterns and mutilated figures. Above the doorway on the e. side may be seen a mutilated figure holding a horse (?). In front of the e. side, amid the debris that clutters up the approach to it, are several pedestals, each with a relief of a wreath on its front side.⁵⁴⁰ Conder assigns this building to the 2nd century A.D., although it would seem in the light of our present knowledge more correct to assign it to the first part of the 3rd century A.D. Immediately below Qaṣr Nuweijis to the north are the remains of a small, completely destroyed site. It is partly inhabited today, a

⁵³⁸ Conder, p. 172.

⁵³⁹ The domed room in the baths at Jerash and the domed tomb at Sebastiyā are, together with the domes of Qaṣr Nuweijis (Qūṣeir Nuwaijis), the three earliest examples of this type of a dome on true spherical pendentives; cf. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, pp. 304-323; Hamilton, QDAP VIII, 1938, pp. 64-71.

⁵⁴⁰ Conder, p. 174.

few miserable stone hovels having been built among the ruins. No distinguishable sherds were found.

About 2 km. south of Kh. el-Beider is Kh. el-Jeranîn (242) on top of a hill, and extending on the n. w. side of the small *wādī* below it. Several cisterns are visible among the scanty remains of the ruins. There were some sigillata sherds, as well as other Roman sherds, and also some Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic glazed and painted ware. Less than 4 km. n. n. w. of Kh. el-Beider is Yājūz⁵⁴¹ (249). It is a large, completely destroyed Roman-Byzantine site, situated in a small valley, and extending along both sides of the small Wādī Yājūz, which runs s. e. towards the Zergā. The main part of the large and widespread site is centered about a good spring, whose waters flow into a well-built masonry *birkeh*. Near the spring are the remains of buildings constructed of well-hewn blocks of stone. During the passage of years, however, a number of *buṭm* trees (*terebinths*) have grown among some of the ruins, and have pushed the stones aside to make room for the expanding trunks. The trees, which seem to have acquired a sacred significance, make a distinct landmark, and are the only ones left of what must originally have been a considerable stand of trees.⁵⁴² A number of graves are scattered among the ruins. In addition, there are numerous cisterns. About 50 m. n. e. of one clump of several *buṭm* trees are the foundations of a church, the apse of which is clearly visible. We did not see the carved figures and statues nor the doorpost with two wreaths and a horned altar which Merrill and Dalman report.⁵⁴³ Some ruined foundation walls of probably Byzantine buildings can be seen. We did, however, see a lintel, measuring 2.00 by .60 by .20 m., built into a modern wall. On it are representations in relief of two horned altars, a wreath, and on either side of it two circles in relief with raised rosettes on them.⁵⁴⁴ On the n. and s. sides, on the slopes of the hills which rise from the valley, are ancient stone quarries and tombs consisting of shafts sunk into the rock with arcosolia on each side. Particularly on the n. side is an extensive necropolis with many tombs. On the hillside n. e. of Yājūz, below the growing modern village on the top of the hill, we found an ancient quarry, which contains blocks of stone hewn out of the rock but never carried away. Among the extensive ruins e. n. e. of the *birkeh*, we found some fragments of sigillata and other Roman sherds, and some Byzantine ones. Yājūz, which occupies an area of over a kilometre in length, was heavily settled in Roman and Byzantine times. A few modern houses have been built among the ruins s. e. of the

⁵⁴¹ Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 272-77; Dalman, *PJB* 1911, p. 28; McCown, *Bulletin* 39, pp. 13-17; Conder, p. 279.

⁵⁴² Merrill, p. 273.

⁵⁴³ Merrill, pp. 273-4; Dalman, p. 28.

⁵⁴⁴ Dalman, p. 28; Steuernagel, *Der 'Adschlûn*, *ZDPV* 48 (1925), p. 378, fig. 88.

birkeh, and on the slope of the hill on the n. side of the valley. Yājūz was on the Roman road that ran from Philādelphia to Gerasa. It was 7 miles from Philadelphia, and 23 from Gerasa. The strong spring at Yājūz, and the fertile valley in which it was situated made it a natural site for the development of a Roman-Byzantine way-station and town between Philadelphia and Jerash. Roman mile-stones may be seen on the line of the ancient Roman road north and south of Yājūz. Their presence and the inscriptions on them have been recorded by previous visitors.⁵⁴⁵

Less than 1.5 km. e. n. e. of Yājūz is Kôm Yājūz ⁵⁴⁶ (250). It is a large, almost completely destroyed site, situated on top of a high hill, at 930 m., and commands a splendid view for many kilometres round about. To the w. s. w. Yājūz is visible. To the south, in the distance, Kh. el-Beider can be seen. The Wādī Kôm bends around the n. and e. sides of the hill. On the s. side is the Wādī Yājūz, which farther to the east is known as the Wādī el-Ḥammām. Two ancient cisterns are visible on the top of the hill on the n. side. There must be others buried under the debris. The site which is built on the fairly flat top of the hill which towers above its surroundings was once completely enclosed by a great wall, a large part of which can still be traced. The e. side of the wall has, however, completely disappeared, because a small village has nested itself among the ruins, and the stones that were not used to construct the rude houses there, have been built into pens for the goats and sheep. The walls which follow the roughly rectangular area of the hill-top, enclose a space, which is now partly cultivated, and which in ancient times may also have been partly cultivated. The walled area is oriented roughly n.e. by s.w., and measures approximately 145 by 105 m. It can be seen from the great size of the walled area, and from its location on top of a high, almost completely isolated hill, that Kôm Yājūz fulfills the conditions that we have found determine the location of an EB IV-MB I site. Large quantities of EB IV-MB I pottery were found. At the n.w. corner is visible a part of the outer wall, made of large stone blocks. The wall at this corner is still 1.30 m. high. Some of these blocks measure about .80 by .50 by .35 m. It was impossible to obtain the original width of the wall, because of the debris which everywhere covers the top of it. For long stretches there is a modern wall built along the length of the ancient wall, and it is 1.10 m. thick. Whatever buildings there may have been on the site, have long ago been razed. Piles of stones scattered about indicate where some of them may have been. Not all of them, however,

⁵⁴⁵ Germer-Durand, RB 4, (1895), pp. 392-7; Thomsen, ZDPV 40, (1917), pp. 64-5, nos. 206-214, and Pl. 1; Bruennow and Domaszewski, PA II, pp. 229-231. 237; McCown, *Bulletin* 39, p. 16.

⁵⁴⁶ Conder, pp. 157-8. 279.

belonged to the EB IV-MB I period, but many of them, perhaps the ruins of most of the buildings now visible, belonged to the Early Iron Age. In addition to the numerous EB IV-MB I sherds which were found, there were large numbers of EI I-II sherds, with a preponderance of EI I sherds. On this site, as elsewhere in the regions of Transjordan which we have thus far explored, the gap of approximately 600 years between the EB IV-MB I and the EI I-II occupation has prevented the formation of a real *tell*. One of the striking differences between occupied sites in Palestine and Transjordan is just this frequency of *tulûl* in Palestine and their striking absence in most of Transjordan. An exception, naturally, is made for the Jordan Valley. There are some sites in the districts between the Wâdî Zerqâ and 'Aqabah where EB IV-MB I, EI I-II, Nabataean and Roman sherds, and sherds of later periods can all be found. We have just seen that at Kôm Yājûz both EB IV-MB I and EI I-II sherds were found. None of these sites may be classed as a *tell*, however. With the exception of one or two places such as Kh. el-Medeiyineh in the Wâdî Themed,⁵⁴⁷ which has the appearance of a *tell*, and where it is probable that regular strata of EI I-II could be uncovered, or such as Tell Şafût,⁵⁴⁸ which we shall discuss below, there are practically no sites south of the Wâdî Zerqâ which we have thus far examined that have the typical *tell* formation. All of the sites in South Gilead which we have examined, with the exception of EI I-II Kôm Yājûz, were built on previously unoccupied ground, and we shall see that this holds true for the sites which are yet to be discussed. There is no depth of ancient debris beneath them. Parts of many of the EI I-II buildings are still standing almost to their original height; this is particularly true of Kh. Muḍmâr, as we shall see below.⁵⁴⁹ The conclusion which seems to emerge is that when the Ammonites, Amorites, Moabites and Edomites, whose territories we have more or less thoroughly examined, first appeared upon the scene in Transjordan, they found few ancient sites which had not been long previously destroyed and practically razed to the ground. There were no artificial mounds, *tulûl*, for them to build upon. When they did build upon the ruins of their EB IV-MB I predecessors, as for instance at 'Arâ'ir⁵⁵⁰ or Bālû'ah,⁵⁵¹ they either sank the foundations of their buildings down to the original ground-level through whatever EB ruins may have remained, as at 'Arâ'ir, or they practically swept the site clean of EB remains, and then built from the original ground level up, as at Bālû'ah. In all the regions we have thus far explored in Transjordan, not a single *tell* or other

⁵⁴⁷ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 13-14.

⁵⁴⁸ See below, pp. 191-2; cf. RB 47 (1938), p. 425.

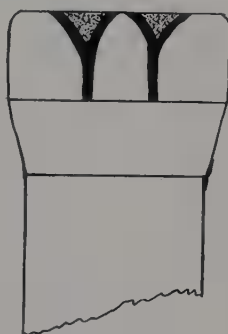
⁵⁴⁹ See pp. 192-4; cf. *Bulletin* 68, pp. 1. 16. 19.

⁵⁵⁰ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 49-50.

⁵⁵¹ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 54-56.



a



0 10 20
CMS

b

Fig. 58. Horned altar (?), Kôm Yājûz.

site has been found containing an uninterrupted sequence of pottery from EB IV down to the end of EI II, that is from before 2200 B. C. to about 600 B. C. We still cling to the belief, however, that at least in isolated instances in the areas examined, some traces of a continuous MB II-LB sedentary occupation will yet be found,⁵⁵² in addition to the few MB II(?) and LB sherds previously picked up.^{552a}

Among the most interesting discoveries at Kôm Yājûz were three pillars, two of them broken, found at the bottom of the w. side of the hill. They are probably altars. The two broken ones measure from 60 to 64 cm. square at the top and probably at the bottom, and are 85 cm. long. The third pillar is about 50 cm. square at the ends, and 1.20 m. long. They are much worn. On the slightly sunken side panels of the pillars are vague representations of what seems to be a human form (Fig. 59). On one panel there seem to be two forms. Our inclination is to assign the pillars or altars to the EI I-II period of Kôm Yājûz. There seemed to be sockets in the rock surface into which they might have fitted. Excavations might reveal the presence of a necropolis. The top side panel of one of the pillars has a tripartite decorative division on all four sides (Fig. 58), which may result from the representation of a horn at each corner of the top of the altar. A fairly close parallel to these altars seems to be the limestone fire altar, showing head and shoulders of a bearded man with arms raised, found at Lachish.⁵⁵³

About 1.5 km. s. w. of Yājûz, and n. e. of Kh. 'Ain el-Beidā, lies a large EI village, built in the massive style of the EI sites in the e. half of South Gilead, as best exemplified by eṣ-Ṣweiwînā and Kh. Muḍmâr.⁵⁵⁴ The site, which is known as Umm Rujûm, or also as Kh. Mugheirât el-Ḥassan⁵⁵⁵ (245), is on the s. side of a small *wâdî*, the name of which we are not able to ascertain. It is in an exceedingly ruined state, but two of its buildings still remain fairly intact. The main building complex occupies an area of about 65 m. in length from north to south, and from about 35 to 55 m. in width. The walls of a number of completely ruined buildings can still be seen. The two most intact buildings are on the e. and w. sides of the s. end of the site. Qaṣr I on the e. side is oriented s. s. w. by n. n. e., and measures approximately 18 by 13 m. Actually, the e. side of Qaṣr I measures 18.50, the w. side 18, the n. side 13.20, and the s. side 12.70 m. The differences in measurement of the

⁵⁵² Cf. *Bulletin* 68, p. 21.

^{552a} ANNUAL XIV, p. 82; *Bulletin* 49, p. 28; 68, p. 21, n. 21, where Albright suggests that the pottery from the Late Bronze tomb groups in the 'Ammân museum may have belonged to semi-nomadic settlements.

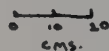
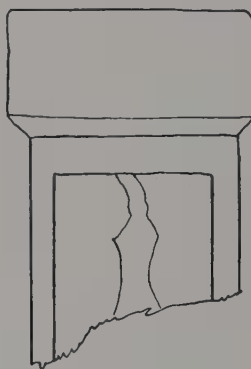
⁵⁵³ PEQ 1937, p. 170, Pl. 1.

⁵⁵⁴ See above pp. 168-170; below pp. 192-4.

⁵⁵⁵ Aug. 5, 1937.



a



b

Fig. 59. Relief of human figure on altar (?) panel, Kôm Yājūz.

originally rectangular structure, whose sides were undoubtedly even, has been caused by the bulging out or turning in of the walls. The inside of the *qaṣr* is a mass of fallen building stones, which also litter the ground outside of it. The walls of the *qaṣr* are from 1.10 to 1.20 m. thick. The n. wall is the best preserved one, being in places 7 courses, 3 m. high. North of Qaṣr I, about 9 m. removed from it, are the foundation walls of a large, much ruined building, which makes much the appearance of a barracks, there being six apparent room divisions, built of massive stone blocks. In some of the rooms doorways can be seen. Some 12 m. to the west of Qaṣr I is Qaṣr II, which is the next best preserved building on the site. It is made of massive limestone blocks, better dressed than those of Qaṣr I. One of the blocks, for instance, at the n. w. corner, measures 2.80 by .80 by .76 m. The building is oriented e.-w., and measures about 12.50 m. square. Actually, the s. wall measures about 12.70 m., while the w. wall, the complete line of which is somewhat broken off, now actually measures 12 m. The s. wall has bulged out. The walls of Qaṣr II are 1.20 m. thick. The corners of both *qasūr* are built of headers and stretchers. Numerous EI I-II sherds were found on the site. On the n. e. side of the site is a very large cistern, and there are probably others buried under the debris. It is situated in a rough, rolling area, which is poorly cultivated today, and then only in patches. There are some traces of ancient terraces on the gently sloping sides of the small *wādī*.

About a quarter of a kilometre to the s. w. of Umm Rujūm is a small, completely ruined building, which is now only a *rujm* of massive limestone blocks, similar to those in the parent site to which it belonged. Just what its function was it is impossible now to say. There is a cave-cistern on its n. e. side. The nearest spring is several kilometres to the s. w. of Umm Rujūm, and is called 'Ain el-Beidā. Near the bottom of the n. e. slope of the hillside above this spring is a completely ruined, small site, probably Roman, called Kh. 'Ain el-Beidā (243), of which little more than some scattered stones remain to help indicate its former existence. There is a single terebinth tree growing among them. There are several cave-cisterns on the site. The line of the Roman road can be clearly seen in stretches between Kh. 'Ain el-Beidā and Yājūz. Several kilometres s. w. of Yājūz is a small, completely destroyed, and almost completely ploughed-over site, called Kh. Umm el-Kheleifeh. There is a large cave-cistern at the n. w. end of the site. Two open sarcophagi are visible. Near them are fragments of sigillata and other Roman sherds.

On top of a high hill immediately e.-e. s. e. above Kh. 'Ain el-Beidā, is Rujm 'Ain el-Beidā (244). In the distance below it to the n.-n. n. e. is Umm Rujūm. Rujm 'Ain el-Beidā, which occupies a very strategic position guarding this heavily settled EI region, is an isolated round tower, built in much the same

fashion as the previously discussed *rujûm malfûf*. It is in a much ruined condition, being built of large, for the most part unshaped, limestone blocks. Its outside diameter is 10.25 m. The wall is from 1.20 to 1.40 m. thick, the former being probably the more correct measurement. The w. side of the tower is fairly well preserved, being still 3.55 m. high. Situated on a steep rise on top of the hill, the slopes around it have not been able to hold the sherds which must undoubtedly have been swept away by the rains of the centuries, because we were not able to find any of them. In view of our previous experience with these towers, however, and the relation of this one to the EI sites in the vicinity, we have no hesitation in assigning this one also to the Early Iron Age.

Less than a kilometre w.-w. n.w. of Umm Rujûm, is Kh. Umm Rujm⁵⁵⁶ (246), situated on the flat top of a high, almost completely isolated hill, which commands a view over the extensive EI village below it. The entire area of the site, which is oriented approximately n.-s., and measures something like 22 by 180 m., was completely surrounded by a great wall, the foundation remains of which can still, for the most part, be clearly traced. The wall seems to be 1.80 m. thick. It has been destroyed down to the level of the ground. The entire area inside the walls, as is quite common in such sites, is ploughed today, as large parts of it must have been ploughed anciently. Even without the added testimony of a considerable quantity of EB IV-MB I sherds, it would be possible to designate this site as belonging to the EB IV-MB I period. In the distance to the s. s. w., Rujm 'Ain el-Beidâ is visible on top of its hill. A number of ancient cross walls can be seen particularly at the n. w. end of the enclosed area. There are traces of additional ancient compounds at the s. e. end of the walled area. Below the hill of Kh. Umm Rujm, the slopes of which were cultivated and partly terraced in ancient times, are several *wudyân*, which bend around the base of the hill on all sides except the n. w. Across the wâdî on the n. e. side, on the opposite slope of the hill rising above it, can be seen ancient, broken terraces, which once safeguarded the soil covering the bare rocks now seen on the surface. On the n. and n. e. sides is the Wâdî Umm Rujm, on the e. side is the Wâdî el-Weilah (?), and on the s. and s. w. sides is the Wâdî Abharat(?). The easiest approach is on the n. w. side. Below the top of the hill there is a small dip, which was once apparently guarded by a watch-tower, although little of it is now left. On the w. side of the dip which divides the n. w. end of the top of the hill of Kh. Umm Rujm from the high, broken plateau to the west, is another ancient site, called Qaşr Umm Rujm (247). The *qaşr*, which is oriented n.-n. n. e. by s.-s. s. w., measures 15.50 by 14.90 m. The walls, built of massive limestone blocks, are 1.10 m.

⁵⁵⁶ Aug. 9, 1937.

thick. The n. e. corner is still 7 courses, 4.10 m. high. There seems to be evidence of an entrance in the e. wall, to which steps gave access from the ground level. The heap of fallen building blocks in front of the possible entrance suggests the steps. There is a door-jamb on either side of the entrance-way, the bottom of which seems to have been about 4 m. above the level of the ground. A considerable number of EI I-II sherds was found, in addition to some EB IV-MB I sherds, which probably originated at the neighboring EB IV site. There were also several late Hellenistic sherds. Inside the *qaṣr* is a mass of large, fallen building blocks. On the e. side of the *qaṣr*, and extending on the s. side 7.75 m. from the s. end of the e. wall of the *qaṣr*, and on the n. side 9.70 m., is a large, walled courtyard, which measures roughly 32.50 by 25 m. The s. wall of this courtyard is massively built, as are the other sides, and seems to be 1.70 m. thick. The n. side is in places still 3 courses high. About 15 m. from the s. e. corner of this large, walled courtyard is another small ruin, in which there was a large cave-cistern. Beyond the n. e. end of the large courtyard is a very large cistern, with five openings leading into it. There are probably other cisterns in the vicinity buried under debris. The intensiveness of the settlement of this small area in the vicinity of Yājūz, during the Early Iron Age especially, is emphasized all the more by the fact that with the exception of the small modern village above Yājūz there are no other permanent settlements in this area; nor is the cultivation of the soil anywhere near as extensive now as it was then.

About 2.5 km. s. w.-w. s. w. of Kôm Yājūz lies Kh. Muṣlīm⁵⁶⁷ (248). It is situated on a small, almost completely isolated rectangular outspur, situated in a hollow, surrounded by hills, with its w. end connected with the rise beyond it. The outspur or tongue of land on which this site is situated is oriented approximately w.-w. n. w. by e.-e. s. e., and measures about 48 by 40 m. The ruins of several buildings are located in this area, so destroyed that only their outlines at the w. end can be made out. At the w. end, which is the most easily approachable one, are the remains of a strong, small, massively built fortress, which is oriented e.-e. s. e. by w.-w. n. w., and measures 14 by 12 m. The s. and w. sides of this *qaṣr* are built up higher than the other sides, to create an even level for the entire *qaṣr*, because of the unevenness of the ground, which slopes downward at the s. w. corner. One of the stretchers at the s. w. corner measures 3.20 by .90 by .65 m. The walls are approximately 1.75 m. thick. There are two cisterns on the n. side, and also two cisterns at the e. end of the site. There are great fallen blocks, many of them broken, on the rest of the site, and there was certainly at one time another *qaṣr* at the e. end, and perhaps one other building in the middle of the rectangular area

⁵⁶⁷ Aug. 8, 1937.

of Kh. Muṣlīm. The great limestone blocks with which these buildings were erected were evidently quarried in the immediate vicinity. The slopes of the outspur and the surrounding hillsides are cultivated and partly held in place by ancient terraces. A passing *bedū* opined that in ancient times it was as easy for the inhabitants of the land to lift the great blocks with which all these "megalithic" structures are built as it is for us to lift small stones, because then the inhabitants of the land were all 40 m. tall, and possessed of corresponding strength. Large numbers of EI I-II sherds were found, even without which we would have designated Kh. Muṣlīm as belonging to the EI I-II period.

About 5 km. n. n. w. of Yājūz, in a once fertile but now more or less worn out agricultural region, which is only poorly cultivated, is Kh. Morbaṭ Bedrân⁵⁵⁸ (269), situated on the gentle slope leading down to the shallow Wādī Morbaṭ Bedrân, which borders its s. side. It occupies an area of approximately 280 by 90 m., and consists of a number of buildings scattered from west to east. It was a country village, built in the same massive style that characterizes most of the EI structures in the e. half of South Gilead. There were large quantities of all kinds of EI I-II sherds, which also identify the period of occupation of the site. Even without any sherds, however, it would have been possible from the architecture of the buildings, and particularly from the "megalithic" type of construction, to have identified Kh. Morbaṭ Bedrân as an EI I-II site. The walls or foundations of at least twelve massively built structures can still be traced there, and originally there were probably more. One family, comprising not more than ten people, live in a tent now on the site and cultivate some of the surrounding fields. To give an idea of the size of the buildings at Kh. Morbaṭ Bedrân, we may note that Qaṣr I measures 15.30 by 17.60 m., with an annex on the w. side which measures 10 by 17.60 m.; Qaṣr II measures 13.65 by 12.60 m.; Qaṣr III 26.70 by 10.50 m., with the much ruined V, VI, and VII having about the same measurements; Qaṣr IV is 12 m. square; VIII, which is a round tower, is 9.80 m. in diameter; IX measures 12.30 by 9.50 m.; X is a round tower, 9 m. in diameter, with a rectangular court on its s. side, measuring 11.50 by 6.50 m.; XI consists of two adjacent buildings each measuring 9.20 by 7 m.; XII measures 14.40 by 11.70 m. The walls of these buildings average about 1.10 m. in thickness, the corners being laid in headers and stretchers, the stones being massive limestone and flint blocks, set in rough rows, with smaller stones between them to make the rows fairly even (Fig. 60). The s. w. corner of Qaṣr I is 6 courses, 3.40 m. high. Many of the stones average 1.10 by .60 by .50 m. in size. Qaṣr III (like the other adjacent, almost completely destroyed buildings) was originally sub-

⁵⁵⁸ Aug. 5, 1937; *Bulletin* 68, p. 19.



Fig. 60. Kh. Morbat Bedrân, lk. n. n. e. at Qaşr I.



Fig. 61. Kh. Morbat Bedrân, s. side with entrance of Qaşr IX.

divided into several small chambers. Qaşr IX, built of massive flint blocks, is 3 courses, 1.65 m. high at the n.w. end; at the s.w. end it is 4 courses, 1.90 m. high; the s.e. end is 4 courses, 2.35 m. high. In the s. wall is a well preserved, clearly marked entrance way, with the door-jams and the sill in position. The entrance way is 80 cm. wide, the door-jambs measuring 1.50 by .70 by .60 m. (Fig. 61). There are traces also of an entrance in the n. wall of Qaşr IV. On the e. side of Qaşr IX is a courtyard measuring 9.50 by 7.75 m. It is possible that this may have been originally a separate building, the remains of the wall of which now enclose the area on the e. side of the *qaşr*. The s.e. corner of Qaşr XI is still 6 courses, 2.95 m. high. The s.e. corner of XII is still 2 m. high. Of particular interest are the *rujûm malfûf* on this site, buildings VIII and X. Kh. Morbat Bedrân is thus an excellent example of the presence of *rujûm malfûf* on the same site with the more normal square or rectangular buildings. Both types are, however, built in the same massive style, which characterizes isolated *rujûm malfûf* and *quşûr* in the e. half of South Gilead. We shall see that this is not the only instance of the occurrence of both types of structures at the same place. Just what purpose these two *rujûm malfûf* at Kh. Morbat Bedrân served is questionable. They are no more strongly built than the other buildings. There was, so far as we could ascertain, no great defensive wall surrounding the entire site, each building being apparently considered strong enough to serve as a fortress in case of necessity. It is to be noticed, however, that the *rujûm malfûf* are located near the s. side of the village area, overlooking the *wâdî*, whose steep, if not very high n. side is marked by a long, bare, rock-escarpment. One *rujm malfûf*, building VIII, overlooks the junction of a small *wâdî* coming from the south with the Wâdî Morbat Bedrân, and the tongue of land between them, which also is covered with building-ruins. There are some building ruins also on the s. side of the main small *wâdî*. The other *rujm malfûf* also overlooks a bend in the *wâdî*. It may be, therefore, that these two round towers served as police or look-out posts for the entire village, or they may have been built first, affording a means of protection before the rest of the village was built. The construction of the rectangular court on the s. side of the e. round tower, X, suggests, however, that even if this structure did originally serve a defensive purpose, it lost its original role and was pressed into domestic uses. Along the length of the s. end of the village, near the top of the *wâdî*, are several cisterns. There is a particularly large one near the s.w. end of the site, with a large stone covering its mouth. Other cisterns are probably buried under the debris. In the *wâdî* below the s.e. end of the site, we are told, is a spring (Fig. 60a). Whatever the correct explanation of the *rujûm malfûf* at this site may be, on the whole it seems safe to say that they served defensive purposes. From such places as

SKETCH-PLAN
KHIRBET MORBAT BEDRÂN

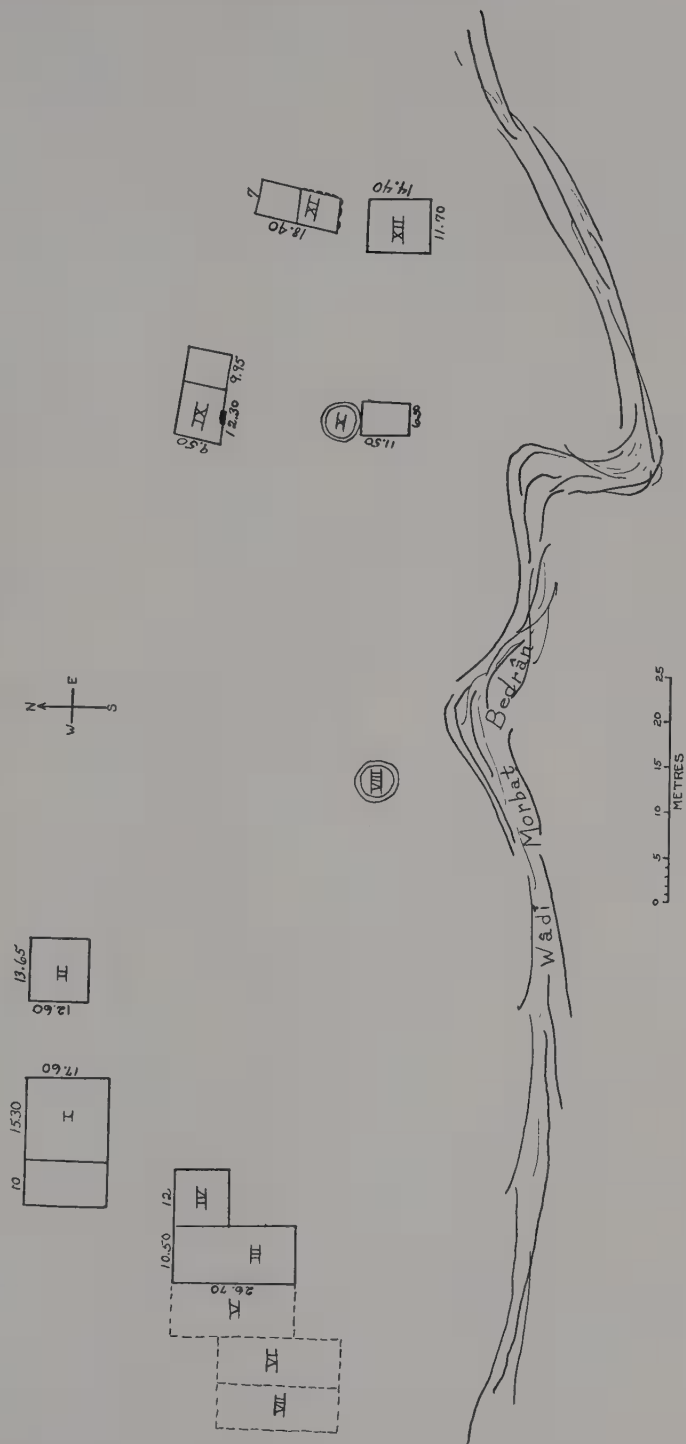


Fig. 60a Sketch-plan.

Kh. Morbaṭ Bedrân, Umm Rujûm, and eṣ-Ṣweiwînâ, as well as the numerous other individual *quṣûr* and *rujûm malfûf* which we have thus far treated in the e. half of South Gilead and in 'Ammôn, it is obvious that only a thriving, prosperous agricultural civilization, with a capable people who were rooted in the soil and tilled it most intensively, and who also knew how to build strongly, make excellent pottery, and store adequate water-supplies, could have produced these buildings and strong villages. It was a highly developed civilization which flourished during EI I-II in the ancient South Gileadite and Ammonite territory.

About 1.5 km. east of Kh. Morbaṭ Bedrân is Kh. Bedrân (268), situated on the flat top of a high hill, where there is also a small modern settlement. The hill is visible from Kh. Morbaṭ Bedrân. At the w. s. w. end of the flat top of the hill, are the remains of a large EI building, oriented n. w. by s. e., which measures 19.70 by 14.50 m. It is built in the same manner as the massive buildings at Kh. Morbaṭ Bedrân, the corners in headers and stretchers, and the great, roughly hewn limestone blocks laid in rough rows, with smaller stones between them to make the rows fairly even. The s. w. and s. e. walls are still comparatively intact. The s. corner is still 4 courses, 1.90 m. high. The s. w. wall is preserved on the average 4 courses high, the s. e. wall 3 courses high. The inside of this building is full of modern debris, which also covers the other walls. It is probable that there were several other buildings of the same character nearby, but they have been torn down, and their large stones broken up and used for the construction of the rude modern houses that now are nested inside of the ancient ruins. From the type of architecture of the part of the massive building which is still visible, it is possible to assign it to the Early Iron Age. On the w. s. w. slope of the hill, as well as in the large open space on top of it, immediately below the EI building, we found numerous EI I-II sherds, which belong to the period of the massively constructed building. In addition to these sherds we found a small number of Roman and early Byzantine, and some glazed and painted mediaeval Arabic sherds. In the depression on the top of the hill is a large, ancient cistern. There are probably other cisterns buried under the debris. At the e. s. e. end of the site is a small ruined mosque, which has arches built over fairly clearly inscribed Roman milestones, dragged probably from the Roman road between Philadelphia and Gerasa, and particularly from the section of it which passes close to 'Ain Yājûz.⁵⁵⁹ They have been published by de Vaux.⁵⁶⁰ A dentilated lintel lying on the ground in front of the ruined mosque may belong to the early Byzantine period.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁹ See above pp. 177-8.

⁵⁶⁰ RB 47, (1938), pp. 423. 424.

⁵⁶¹ Cf. ANNUAL XIV, p. 38, fig. 16.

Of particular interest are the numerous EI sites which our expedition visited in the rich el-Beq'ah valley which stretches northward below Şuweileḥ. The road from Şuweileḥ to Jerash cuts through the middle of this fertile and intensively cultivated valley. From the hills above it to the south, on the main highway to 'Ammân, the traveller who passes by in the vicinity of Şuweileḥ can see most of the extent of the Beq'ah. Indeed, he can see farther, to the green patch in the distance in which Jerash itself is cradled, in the hills which rise above the n. end of the Beq'ah. From his vantage point the traveller can, if he looks carefully, see in the Beq'ah a large number of ruins, which our investigations have now shown to be larger or smaller complexes of massive, ruined buildings of the "megalithic" type, belonging solely to EI I-II. The main period of their history, to judge from the pottery remains, as is the case with the rest of the EI sites in the e. half of South Gilead and in 'Ammôn which we have discussed above, seems to be between the 13th and the 8th-7th centuries B. C., with a rapid decline after that down to the beginning of the 6th century B. C.

About half a kilometre n. n. w.-n. w. below Şuweileḥ and guarding the descent to the valley of the Beq'ah is a well situated mound, on top of which is Tell Şafût⁵⁶² (228). It is one of the few ancient sites in Transjordan which has the appearance of an artificial city hill, a real *tell* in other words, and excavation would probably reveal several layers of occupation. The fairly flat top of the mound is oriented generally e. n. e. by w. s. w., and measures approximately 70 by 18 m. At its e. end some of the foundation stones of a small, square (?) tower can be seen. The top and part of the slopes of the mound are cultivated today, and with the exception of the traces of the tower just mentioned, there is practically nothing left on the surface of the site of any of the buildings which must have once been situated on it. The Wādī Şafût bends around the steep e. and n. e. sides. There is a more gradual descent on the s. side, and the easiest approach is on the w. side of the mound. There is a splendid view over the Beq'ah from the top of the mound. The main periods of occupation of the site can be judged by the large quantities of sherds which we gathered on the slopes and top of the mound, all of which belong to EI I-II, none earlier and none later. De Vaux reports finding "un peu de Br. I et début du Br. II"⁵⁶³ in addition to EI I-II sherds, but upon reexamination of the sherds in question has decided that they actually belong to EI I. We have collected sherds from Tell Şafût on several occasions now, and have never yet, despite the most careful search, been able to find any sherds there that preceded the EI I-II period. Of much interest are the tombs, consisting

⁵⁶² Aug. 7, 1937; *Bulletin* 68, p. 19; 44, p. 11; RB 47 (1938), pp. 418-419.

⁵⁶³ RB 47 (1938), p. 418.

of chambers cut out of great isolated rocks, with a side opening and a bench hewn out of the rock at one end, and a roof outlet covered with a stone. These chambers look like ovens rather than tombs. They were discovered by de Vaux and Benoit in the valley to the n. e. of Tell Şafût.⁵⁶⁴ The vino-culture carried on in the vicinity of Şuweileh today on the hillsides between it and Tell Şafût may well be a continuation of the cultivation of the vine as carried on in the Early Iron Age. The slopes of the hillsides leading down into the Beq'ah were also cultivated then at least as extensively as today. The modern village of Şafût (227) to the n. w. of the ancient site, and actually situated in the valley below it, takes the place today of the ancient Tell Şafût, and is one of the few modern villages which today exist in all of the expanse of the Beq'ah. The village of Şafût is located among some extensive Roman-Byzantine ruins, the doorway of a Byzantine church standing in desolate isolation at the edge of the village.⁵⁶⁵ About 2 km. north of the village of Şafût is 'Ain el-Bâshâ, which is a large, almost completely destroyed site on both sides of the road to Jerash. There is a spring among the ruins on the w. side of the road, marked by a green cultivated patch near it, and several rude modern houses. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found.

Less than a kilometre n. n. w. of 'Ain el-Bâshâ is the extensive site of Kh. el-Muḍmâr (279). It is composed of a whole series of large, massively built, more or less ruined buildings of the "megalithic" type, extending over an area approximately 300 m. in length and from 60 to 100 m. in width. Among the ruins of the buildings, and around them, were numerous EI I-II sherds. There were also several Roman sherds of about the first century A. D., as well as some Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The buildings are placed next to each other in a large, rectangular area, on a slight rise oriented s. e.-n. w. One of the best preserved buildings, the second from the e. end of the built-up area, on the s. side, measures 19 by 14.70 m. We shall call it Qaşr II.⁵⁶⁶ Its s. wall is still preserved at the corners to a height of 9 courses, or 5.50 m. (Figs. 62-3). The walls average 2 m. in thickness, as do the walls of all the buildings. They are all constructed in the same fashion with huge blocks, laid at the corners in headers and stretchers, and otherwise in rude rows, with smaller stones between them to make the rows fairly even. One of the stretchers in the s. w. corner of Qaşr I measures 2.25 by .85 by .55 m. It will be seen that from the nature of construction alone, without the assistance of the sherds, we should have been able to assign these buildings to the Early

⁵⁶⁴ RB 47 (1938), pp. 418-419, Pl. XXI: 3.

⁵⁶⁵ RB 47 (1938), pp. 417-418, Pl. XXI: 2.

⁵⁶⁶ *Bulletin* 68, pp. 1. 16. 19.



Fig. 62. Kh. Muḏmâr, s. wall of Qaşr II.



Fig. 63. Kh. Muḏmâr, e. wall of Qaşr II.

Iron Age, being the same in style of construction as the numerous "megalithic" structures in the e. half of South Gilead and in 'Ammôn, which we have previously dealt with. Qaşr I, adjacent to Qaşr II and immediately east of it, is in a much more destroyed condition than Qaşr II, its s. wall being completely gone except for the foundation row. Its e. wall is preserved to a height of 3 to 4 courses, measuring 2.55 m. at the s. end of the wall. The buildings stretch in a long line from east to west, some almost completely destroyed, others with parts of their walls still standing. Combined, they give a sense of massive strength and solidity which no modern village in Transjordan has today. The walls of the buildings that are still more or less standing have bulged in or out considerably. About 100 m. to the n. w. of the main complex of buildings at Kh. Muḍmâr is another group of almost completely ruined buildings of the same type, and about 50 m. to the s. e. yet another. Inside and around the main buildings at Kh. Muḍmâr a number of disused ancient cisterns can be seen, and there must be others covered up under the great piles of fallen stones. The nearest spring is that of 'Ain el-Bâshâ to the s. s. e.

About half a kilometre north of Kh. el-Muḍmâr is Rujm el-Ḥâwî (280). It is again a massive, ruined building, oriented n.-s., measuring approximately 40 by 21 m. There is very little of the walls of this building left, although its s. w. corner is still 3 courses high. Particularly by the e. wall of this building, which belongs to the same type as the buildings at Kh. Muḍmâr, we found some of the finest decorated EI sherds that we have picked up in Transjordan thus far. Inside the walls are masses of fallen building blocks, and wall foundations of a series of rooms. The walls are from 1.30 to 1.40 m. thick. About 40 m. south of the s. wall are two round towers. The larger one measures in its outside diameter 11.20 m., with a cistern in the center of it. To the e. s. e. of it, about 8 m. removed, is the second round tower, whose outside diameter is 8.20 m. The walls are about 1.50 m. thick. On the w. side of the main ruined complex are the ruins of another *rujm malfûf*.⁵⁶⁷

About 225 m. n. n. e. of Rujm el-Ḥâwî are the ruins of two more buildings of the same "megalithic" type, called Rujm el-Ḥenû (281). The two buildings are 29 m. removed from each other, the e. one measuring about 23 by 33 m., being oriented n.-s. There is a circular tower built into the w. wall of the w. building.⁵⁶⁸ A few EI I-II sherds were picked up here too. Rujm el-Ḥâwî and Rujm el-Ḥenû may, for all practical purposes, be considered one site, composed of a number of widely scattered, massive buildings, whose inhabitants, as those of all these "megalithic" sites in the Beq'ah and elsewhere, tilled the soil very intensively, and lived in the midst of their acres.

⁵⁶⁷ RB 47 (1938), p. 420; *Bulletin* 68, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁶⁸ RB 47 (1938), pp. 420-21.

N. e.-e. n. e. of Rujm Ĥenû, on the e. side of the road to Jerash, and less than a kilometre n. w. of Abû Neşeir, is Rujm el-Mûmanî ⁵⁶⁹ (274), consisting of two ruined structures, built in the "megalithic" style. A small number of EI I-II sherds was found by them. The one building is oriented w. s. w. by e. n. e. and measures 17.50 by 16.85 m., with remnants of the wall of a courtyard against the e. side of this *qasr*. The inside of the *qasr* is filled with debris, which spreads over the top of the walls, so that it was not possible to measure their width, which would probably be about 1.30 m. About 36 m. e. s. e. of this ruined building is a *rujm malfûf*, the outside diameter of this much ruined round tower being 15 m. It was filled with debris, on top of which was a modern grave. It is particularly interesting to note in connection with the last three mentioned sites, that there are round towers either built into conventional buildings, or erected close to them, and that each of these sites belongs, both so far as the pottery and the type of buildings are concerned, to the Early Iron Age. There is a striking similarity of type of construction in these buildings which leads one to think that they must surely have all belonged to a homogeneous culture, and have as their background the same civilization. Abû Neşeir (273) s. e. of Rujm el-Mûmanî is a small, completely destroyed site, on which several modern houses and graves have been built. We found a considerable number of mediaeval Arabic painted and glazed sherds there, in addition, to several EI I-II sherds.⁵⁷⁰ About half a kilometre e. s. e. of it is el-Herbej (272), which is a similar site with the same history. Immediately above this site to the east is 'Ain Rûjâb, by which we found several Byzantine sherds. Less than a kilometre w. n. w. of the village of Mûbiş is a small, ruined, almost completely covered-over ruin, where we found a few EI I-II sherds. We are calling the site Rujm Mûbiş (276). On the fairly flat, and more or less circular top of a hill towering to the n. n. e. above the village of Mûbiş is a large ruined site, which has been completely wrecked, called el-Mûmanî (277). The upper slopes and top of the hill are literally covered with great heaps of small and large building stones, which conceal the ground beneath them. There is hardly a vestige of a wall left to be seen. Seen from the distance, the hill-top of el-Mûmanî looks much like a real *tell*, but most of the hill is natural. There may be several layers of occupation on the very top of the hill. Among the masses of fallen stones which increase in number at the top, an outline of a circular wall may be made out, which surrounds a depression at the very top of the hill, in the center of which is a large cistern. The diameter of the circular wall seems to be about 28.5 m. It is possible that it marks the lines of a great protective *rujm malfûf*, which

⁵⁶⁹ *Bulletin* 68, p. 20.

⁵⁷⁰ RB 47 (1938), p. 422.

guarded the strong spring immediately above el-Môbiş, and also helped protect the entrance from the east to the rich el-Beq'ah, over which it commands an excellent view. In other words, el-Mûmanî played on the e. side of the Beq'ah the same role that Tell Şafût played on the s. side. Large quantities of EI I-II sherds were found particularly on the slopes beneath the very top of the hill. The hill is completely cut off, and could have been easily defended. The Wâdî el-Mûmanî bends around the e. side from the north to the south. In addition to the EI sherds, there were several which belonged to the end of EB IV, and a few scraps of late Hellenistic and early Roman sherds. It is not surprising to find traces of an earlier Bronze Age occupation on this site, situated as it is on a fairly flat-topped hill, above a spring.

About a kilometre s. s. w. of Môbiş, on the top of a hill, near the top of the plateau above the Râs el-'Ain of el-Môbiş, is a large, completely destroyed site, called Kh. Abû Hâmed (275). El-Mûmanî is visible to the n. n. e. of this site, and is about on the same level. With the exception of a piece of a massively built wall, there is nothing whatsoever left of the ancient site, which is completely buried under a number of modern houses and modern debris. The cultivated slopes of the hillside leading down to the strong spring yielded, however, large numbers of EI I-II sherds, and a small number of EB IV-MB I sherds. With the exception of the w. n. w. to n. sides, the hill is surrounded by the Wâdî Abû Hâmed. From this site too, there is a splendid view over much of the Beq'ah.

At the very top of the slope which leads up to the plateau overlooking the Beq'ah from the east, at a point e. s. e. above el-Herbej, we found a few remains of a "megalithic" building and by it a large grape or olive press. This place is called 'Aşâret Merj eş-Şâna' (270). The lintel of the doorway of the building, which is about all that is left of it, measures 2.50 by .70 by .70 m. The press, which is hewn into the solid rock, is 1.90 m. long by .57 m. wide by .57 m. deep. There is a 25 cm. hole as an outlet at the n. end. Cut into the same rock, on the e. side of the trough is a basin, whose inside diameter measures 76 m. A small number of EI I-II sherds was found by these remains. It is quite possible that the slopes of the hillsides leading from the Beq'ah to the top of the plateau, which today are used mostly for the growing of wheat, where the soil has not yet been washed away, were in part heavily wooded, and in part devoted to vineyards. The hills in the 'Ajlûn district to the west and north of the Beq'ah are still heavily wooded in part, and in part given over to vineyards.

Near the top of the slope leading from the Beq'ah to the plateau overlooking it from the east, we came upon the remains of a large, massively built building-complex, so destroyed that it was impossible to make any accurate

measurements. It is called Rujm Megrihā (271). No distinguishable sherds were found, but there is little reason to doubt that it was originally an EI I-II site. There is one rude dwelling built among the ruins now. Large parts of the evidently once fertile soil on the slopes in the immediate vicinity of this site have been washed away.

About 4 km. n. e.-n. n. e. of Şuweileh, on a flat-topped outspur below the very top of the plateau, is the small, much ruined site of Kh. Abū Marḥaf (267). 'Ain el-Bāshā (278) is visible to the w.-w. n. w. in the distance below it in the Beq'ah, over a large part of which a good view can be had from this site. Immediately below this site, on its n. e. side is a good spring. There are numerous sherds on the slopes of the outspur, on which a number of ruins of houses, constructed of small stones, can be made out. We found no sherds belonging to the Early Iron Age, although a few modern Arabic sherds were deceptively like EI types. De Vaux writes that he found a few sherds of "late Iron."⁵⁷¹ There were, however, very many fine, painted Byzantine sherds, and de Vaux has pointed out to the writer several of the Hellenistic period.⁵⁷² There were also numerous painted and glazed mediaeval Arabic sherds. There is an open, rock-cut tomb in front of the n. w. side of the outspur. On the slopes below the site are a number of terraces, many of which probably go back to the Byzantine period. They are planted to wheat. The waters of the spring run to waste. The site is uninhabited today.

About 2.5 km. n. w. of Kh. Muḍmâr, on top of a great hill which on its w. side joins the plateau overlooking the Beq'ah from the west, is a completely ruined EI site, called Kh. Umm ed-Denânîr (283), which is also known as Shûnet Abū 'Arabî.⁵⁷³ At the base of the hill, on its n. e. side is the very strong spring, 'Ain Umm ed-Denânîr, and around the n. e. and e. sides there bends the Wâdî Umm ed-Denânîr, which commences in the Beq'ah and goes approximately north under various names until it finally joins the Wâdî Zerqā. This *wâdî* affords a passable exit from the Beq'ah at its n. w. end to the fairly fertile, rolling highlands above it. It was to guard this outlet, and to take advantage of the strong spring, that the large EI site was built on the top of the hill, dominating *wâdî* and spring, and commanding a splendid view of almost all the Beq'ah, and particularly of the great EI I-II sites near the w. side of the Beq'ah. We shall see that every path leading into or out of the Beq'ah was controlled by a strongly built fortress,—among these fortresses which we have treated thus far being Tell Şafût, el-Mûmanî, Kh. Abū Ḥâmed, and now Kh. Umm ed-Denânîr. Of the EI buildings which once must have

⁵⁷¹ RB 47 (1938), pp. 421-2.

⁵⁷² RB 47 (1938), p. 422.

⁵⁷³ Aug. 5, 1937; Aug. 26, 1938; *Bulletin* 68, p. 19; RB 47, (1938), p. 421.

marked the top of the hill, nothing is visible at the present time. They have been completely destroyed, and partly in their place there stands a large, sprawling, modern building complex. The type of EI I-II buildings which must have originally stood on the site, can, however, be imagined from the nature of the walls which are left. The entire top of the hill has in modern times been enclosed with a dry-built wall, which hides the traces of ancient walls and foundations. From the edge of the top, down to the bottom of the hill on the e. side, there is a series of massively built terraces, the like of which I have seen in no other place in all of Transjordan, for their original size, completeness, and number. Massive stone blocks were used in building the terraces, of only somewhat rougher type than those used in EI I-II "megalthic" buildings. They are largely destroyed now, and apparently have never been repaired since the end of EI II, when the site for all practical purposes was abandoned. They have, however, served to keep much of the soil in place on the very steep hillside, which in places is still partly ploughed. On the whole, however, the entire slope which was once a series of terraced gardens is now a thorny waste. Verifying the impression made by the size of the terraces were the numerous EI I-II sherds found particularly on the terraces near the top of the hill. During our two visits to the site, we found no sherds belonging to EB IV-MB I, although de Vaux reported that he found a few of that period.⁵⁷⁴ Upon reexamining these particular sherds, he has assigned them to EI I. We also found several early Roman, and some Byzantine sherds.

About a kilometre s. w. of Kh. Umm ed-Denânîr, on top of a great, completely isolated hill, which towers above the Beq'ah on the edge of the plateau that overlooks it from the west, is a tremendous site, called el-Qeseir (282), which cannot be dated later than EB IV. Below it to the s. e.-e. s. e. is visible, less than 2 km. away, the great ruin of Kh. Muḍmâr, and the other EI I-II sites near it. The village of Remeimîn is visible in the distance to the n. n. w. To the s. e. the spring of 'Ain el-Bâshâ shows up clearly with its surrounding green patch. Indeed the entire stretch of the Beq'ah, and the hills which bound it on its n., e., and s. sides are visible from this great site, which in turn looms up on top of its hill as one passes by through the Beq'ah on the road from Şuweileḥ to Jerash. The great, fairly flat site is oriented n.-n. n. e. by s.-s. s. w., with all of its slopes being also at the present time under cultivation. The area on top of the hill, almost all of which is enclosed by a great wall, is also cultivated today, as it must have been during the time the site was occupied. The foundation lines of the wall can still be traced in large part. The

⁵⁷⁴ RB 47 (1938), p. 421.

w. wall is the best preserved one. The e. wall is broken off at its n. half. The entire walled area measures approximately 325 by 42 m. The e. side has a slightly sausage-like curve, while the w. side is fairly straight. There is a cistern at the n. end of the site, and another on the s. side of a great wall, which stretches across the width of the hill-top about 115 m. from the n. end. There are walls of buildings about 9 m. wide across most of the width of the site at this point, and there are also some heaps of stones near the s. end of the site, which may once have represented some buildings. At the s.w. end is a long, narrow, rectangular chamber, measuring about 20 by 4.20 m. Both the n. and s. ends of the enclosed area have a roughly semi-circular curve. The wall around the site seems to be 1.20 m. wide, although its width is not generally visible. A considerable number of EB sherds was found, none of them later than EB IV, and also several Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds which were found particularly near the s. end of the walled-in area. Both the s. and n. ends are somewhat higher than the rest of the site, and it seems most likely that they were originally crowned with watch-towers. On the s. side of the hill is the small Wādī el-'Arak; the w. side, which is the steepest and longest, merges at its base with the Beq'ah. On the e. side is the Wādī el-Khaneizîr, which starts from a dip below the s.w. end of the site, and then descends rapidly till it follows a fairly level course, when finally it runs into the Wādī Umm ed-Denânîr. Near the base of the hill on this side is 'Ain Khaneizîr. The descent from the dip below the s.w. end of the site to the main course of the Wādī Khaneizîr below is terraced and cultivated today, and the terraces undoubtedly go back to the EB period. Near the top of this northward descent to the Wādī Khaneizîr are the remains of a large *dolmen*, on a massively built circular base, which measures 5.20 m. in diameter. The huge limestone blocks of which the *dolmen* was built measure each about 2 by .60 by .60 m. El-Qeṣeir is again typical of a major type of walled EB settlements, which with special preference were built on great, high, flat-topped hills, almost completely cut off from their surroundings, and thus more easily protected. The site was also chosen as near a spring as possible. In the EB period, el-Qeṣeir dominated the entire Beq'ah. It may be assumed that considerable portions of the Beq'ah were cultivated by the inhabitants, whose headquarters, so to speak, were within the walls of el-Qeṣeir, but who much of the year lived in tents outside of el-Qeṣeir, and even good distances away from it. We have seen that EB IV-MB I sherds were found at el-Mûmanî on the n. e. side of the Beq'ah. We have possibly not discovered all of the sites bordering the Beq'ah which were occupied during the EB IV-MB I period, even taking into account the site of Kh. Abū Tîneh, which overlooks the Beq'ah at a point about a kilometre on the n. side of kilometre 20 of the road from 'Ammân

to Jerusalem. In addition to Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds, de Vaux found there "hellenistic," and according to him some sherds which belong to the end of EB.⁵⁷⁵ At the time of writing, we have not yet visited the site. There is no question, however, that in this EB period, all of the good soil of the Beq'ah was intensively cultivated. This becomes all the more likely when we see how numerous the EB IV-MB I sites were around such places as Remeimîn, which are only a few kilometres north of el-Qeṣeir.

We have seen that there were EI fortresses guarding the s., e., and w. entrances into the rich Beq'ah valley, which is bounded on all sides by hills, and could thus easily be defended by fortresses at the strategic passes leading from the hills down into the valley. At the n. end of the Beq'ah there is a natural opening through the hills for a roadway formed by the Wādī eṣ-Ṣeliḥī, which runs n. n. w., and meets the Wādī Remeimîn at about the same point where the Wādī Jel'ad going n. n. e. meets it, the Wādī Remeimîn continuing then n. n. w., until it meets the Wādī Zerqā. Into the s. end of the Wādī eṣ-Ṣeliḥī there run two small *wudyan*, the Wādī Henū and the Wādī el-Mūmanī. Alongside of the Wādī eṣ-Ṣeliḥī winds the modern road, which after leaving the Beq'ah passes northward through the hills on its way to Jerash. About 1.5 km. s. e.-e. s. e. of the powerful spring of 'Ain eṣ-Ṣeliḥī situated on top of a great, high, and steep hill, is et-Teleil⁵⁷⁶ (294). The road from the Beq'ah northward passes directly along the w. base of the hill. Below the e. side of the hill is the Wādī Ja'idīyeh. There is a *tell*-like mound on the very top of the hill, from which almost all traces of buildings have disappeared, and some of which may be concealed beneath the surface. There is a jumble of stones at the top and sides, among which are ploughed patches of stony soil. The flattish top of the mound is oriented n. -s., and measures about 85 by 33 m. At the s. end is a large, almost completely filled-up cave, which may once have served as a cistern. Near the n. end, on the highest point of the top of the mound, is a mass of fallen stones, much worn, which at one time may have been part of the main tower on the site. The likelihood of this mass of stones marking the ruin of a former tower is increased by the fact that the n. side of the hill, which is connected with the main land beyond it to the north, and marked off from it only by a shallow depression, is the most accessible side, and would naturally have to be most strongly fortified. Numerous EB IV-MB I, as well as EI I-II sherds were found on the top and the slopes of the mound, showing that it was occupied in both periods. There were also several Roman and Byzantine sherds and one mediaeval Arabic sherd.

About 2 km. s. s. e. of the Turkoman village of er-Rummân⁵⁷⁷ (305), on

⁵⁷⁵ RB 47 (1938), p. 414.

⁵⁷⁶ Aug. 24, 1938.

⁵⁷⁷ RB 47 (1938), p. 422; see below p. 224.

top of one of the highest hills in the vicinity, is Rujm esh-Shebeil (301). Below it to the n. n. w., the village of er-Rummân is clearly visible. The rocky hillsides between er-Rummân and Rujm esh-Shebeil have long ago been swept almost clean of the soil that once covered them, and support practically nothing today, there being even but few of the dried shrubs which afforded sustenance to flocks of goats. There is no question but that at one time these hills were just as heavily wooded as many of the hills in the 'Ajlûn district still are today. On the very top of the hill are the remains of a small, almost completely ruined Roman-Byzantine site, with a *rujm* at the highest point, showing where a building had once stood. There are also some traces of a tower at the s. end. Some fairly well cut limestone blocks are still visible. On the n. side, near the top of the hill, is a small, almost completely filled-up reservoir, and on the s. e. side near the top is a cave-cistern, and another on the very top in about the middle of the site. A small quantity of worn EI I-II sherds, and a small quantity of early Roman and Byzantine sherds were found. There were some very fine, hard-baked, buff-colored sherds, with black core, which could have been found also on a Nabataean site.

About half a kilometre s. s. e. of Rujm esh-Shebeil is Rujm el-Meqba'ah ⁵⁷⁸ (299). It is situated on the highest hill in the entire district, even overlooking the hill on which Rujm esh-Shebeil is situated. The two hills are connected by an ascending land-bridge which leads from the hill of Rujm esh-Shebeil to the hill of Rujm el-Meqba'ah. At the very top of the hill are the foundations of a small, circular (?) flint-block tower, which seems to be about 2.90 m. in diameter. A few Roman and Byzantine sherds were found by it. Below the n. e. side of this hill are the Wâdî and 'Ain Shellash (?). Parts of the Beq'ah are visible from this site.

About 1.5 km. n. w.-w. n. w. of et-Teleil is eş-Şelîhî (295), below which to the n. e. is the powerful spring 'Ain eş-Şelîhî. It is a completely destroyed site, on which a number of rude modern houses has been built. There are also some modern graves scattered about. It is bordered on the east by the Wâdî eş-Şelîhî, and on the s. side by the Wâdî Umm en-Nejîleh. Several Roman, and numerous Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were picked up there.

About 1.5 km. n. e. of the 'Ammân railway station is Rujm el-Ḥamîr ⁵⁷⁹ (251). It is a small ruined blockhouse, situated on a small rise in the midst of cultivated fields on the e. side of the road from 'Ammân to Zerqâ. It is oriented w. s. w. by e. n. e. and measures 12.75 by 12.30 m. Inside the blockhouse may be made out cross walls of a number of small rooms. The walls

⁵⁷⁸ Aug. 25, 1938.

⁵⁷⁹ Oct. 20, 1937.

are made of large, rough slabs of flint-conglomerate, and the outside walls of the *qaṣr* appear to be 1.25 m. thick. Near this *qaṣr* are the completely leveled ruins of what seem to be comparatively modern houses. Some of them may have been contemporary, however, with the main *qaṣr*. By the ruins of the *qaṣr* were found numerous EI I-II sherds, as well as a small number of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

About half a kilometre to the east of it is Rujm el-Mekhzân (252), situated on a knoll in the midst of cultivated fields. It is a much ruined blockhouse, oriented n.-s., and measures 16.30 by 14.30 m. The walls are 1.80 m. thick, and are built of large, rudely cut blocks of flint-conglomerate laid in rude rows, with smaller stones between them to make the rows fairly even. The n. w. corner is 4 courses, or 2.50 m. high. The w. and n. sides are the best preserved ones. A cistern is visible by the s. w. corner, and others are probably buried under the debris, as at the previous site. Several early Byzantine sherds of about the 4th century A. D. were found, and some mediaeval Arabic painted sherds, which may belong to about 1100 A. D. Several hundred metres beyond this site to the w. n. w. are the ruins of several houses, which probably belong to the same two periods. They are situated on a small knoll on the other side of a small intervening *wâdî*. Less than half a kilometre to the n. w. of Rujm Mekhzân, on a slight rise, is another small, completely ruined site, whose walls have been razed to the ground level. Several modern graves are built on them. A few Byzantine sherds were found.

About 1.5 km. to the w. n. w. of Rujm Mekhzân is Rujm esh-Shîḥ (253), situated on the n. w. side of a small *wâdî*, the name of which we could not ascertain. It consists of the ruins of a small blockhouse, oriented s. s. w. by n. n. e., and measures about 9 m. square. On all except the w. side are traces of courtyards which were built against the small *qaṣr*. Only the s. half of the *qaṣr* is still somewhat preserved, but is rapidly disappearing due to quarrying operations by builders from 'Ammân, who find it, and others of the nearby ruins, convenient sources of building stone. All the sherds found by the ruins of Rujm esh-Shîḥ belonged to EI I-II. Several hundred metres to the east of it are four Roman milestones, with much worn inscriptions, one of them being fairly intact. They are on the line of the Roman road which led from Philadelphia to Bostra.⁵⁸⁰ We did not stop to examine them closely.

Somewhat more than a kilometre to the e. n. e. is Rujm el-Jeish (256), situated on the top of a knoll. It consists of the ruins of two blockhouses, with walled garden areas or courtyards around them. At the s. e. end of the western of the two ruined buildings is a large cave-cistern. The buildings are made of large, hewn blocks of flint conglomerate, the walls being 1.40 m.

⁵⁸⁰ ZDPV XL, pp. 45. 46-142, pl. 1.

thick. The w. building is oriented n.-s., and is 10 m. square. Parts of its walls are from 2 to 3 courses high. The building on the e. side is somewhat better preserved than the other building, although in both cases the corners are not quite clear. It is oriented e.-w., and measures 8.40 by 7.10 m. The building stones are somewhat larger than those in the other structure. A few Roman and Byzantine sherds were found around the ruins, but most of the sherds were EI I-II. It seems likely that the building on the e. side belongs to the EI I-II period, while the other belongs to the Roman-Byzantine period.

Less than a kilometre to the s. w. is Rujm el-Jidī (254). This is another small blockhouse situated on a knoll, with walled areas around it. The walls are built of rough, flint-conglomerate blocks. The corner stones are fairly well cut, one of them measuring .90 by .60 by .40 m. Otherwise the rough stones are laid in rude rows with smaller stones between them to make them fairly even. On the e. side below the site runs the Wādī Musaffar (Mushaqqar?). At the n. w. corner, one of the stretchers measures 1.50 by .75 by .40 m. Below the n. e. corner is a small reservoir, partly hewn out of the solid rock, and still containing a bit of water in it at the time of our visit on Oct. 20, 1937. Additional house and wall foundations of various kinds are visible below the s. w. corner of the blockhouse. Almost all of the sherds found were EI I-II, with the exception of several Roman and early Byzantine sherds.

About a kilometre s. e. of Rujm el-Jidī is Rujm Musaffar (255). It is a small, almost completely destroyed blockhouse, situated on top of the highest rise in the vicinity. It commands a view over Rujm el-Jidī. 'Ammân is visible in the distance to the w. s. w., and Kôm Yājûz in the distance to the n. w. It is oriented n. e.-s. w., and measures about 9.50 m. square. It is the farthest point east of all these sites between 'Ammân and Reṣeifeh that we have thus far discussed, and may be considered a border watch-tower for the area which, in the EI I-II period in particular, was as intensively cultivated, as it is comparatively speaking uncultivated today. The n. e. side is the best preserved one. In front of the s. e. side are the remains of what may originally have been a cistern which has been turned into a grave. Several modern graves have been dug into the ruins. On the e. side of the rise on which this site is located is the Wādī Qaṭṭâr. With the exception of a few Roman and early Byzantine sherds, all the other sherds found by this site belonged to the Early Iron Age. All of the sites mentioned up till now between 'Ammân and Reṣeifeh may be considered to be on the e. edge of the cultivable soil, which does not seem to be too rich in this district. The size of the EI I-II settlement is indicated by the number of these sites in a comparatively small area, whose inhabitants must have tilled the soil.

About 2 km. north of Rujm el-Jeish, and about 3 km. w. s. w. of the Circassian village of Reṣeifeh is the large ruined site called er-Reṣeifāwī (257). It is situated on a knoll, and commands a view of the sites previously mentioned near the 'Ammân-Zerqā road north of 'Ammân. It consists of a large complex of much ruined buildings, oriented s. s. w. by n. n. e. and measuring approximately 41 by 34 m. The outer walls are 1.30 m. thick. At the s. w. corner of the building-complex is a much ruined structure, whose w. wall measures 8.90 m., and whose s. and n. walls measure about 13 m. It is subdivided evidently into a number of small compartments. To the north of it on the s. side of the building complex is the best preserved of the buildings contained in it. Its w. wall measures 12.50 m., and its n. wall 13.95 m. The s. w. corner of this building is 4 courses, or 1.90 m. high. Near its n. e. corner is a large cistern, whose mouth is covered with large stone blocks. The stones in these buildings, particularly at the corners, which are roughly laid in headers and stretchers measure approximately 1.30 by .80 by .50 m. It is seen that this building-complex partakes more of the character of the great building complexes such as Kh. Muḍmâr, than the other sites mentioned between it and 'Ammân. A characteristic of the period seems to have been to build very strong stone houses within a raised, rectangular area, which was not surrounded by an outer city-wall. The strength of the original buildings evidently obviated the necessity, experienced so commonly in Western Palestine in the contemporary period, of strengthening the occupied site by a great outer wall. Partly due to the nature of the building materials, and partly also to the fact that the sites mentioned between here and 'Ammân are, so to speak, on the fringe of the desert, and could not have been as wealthy as those in the Beq'ah, for instance, we find that they are of a much poorer type on the whole than the previously discussed buildings of the "megalithic" type. Er-Reṣeifāwī may, to judge from its general type of construction, be assigned to the EI Age. Numerous EI I-II sherds were found by the ruins, in addition to several early Byzantine sherds, and large numbers of mediaeval Arabic sherds. Additional cisterns, besides the one that we saw, must be hidden under the masses of fallen stones which block up the inside of the destroyed buildings, and litter the ground outside of the entire building-complex.

Less than a kilometre to the n. w., on the w. side of the 'Ammân-Zerqā road, is a small, completely destroyed blockhouse, called Rujm Wanânî (258), situated on top of a hill. The outlines of the small blockhouse can just be made out under a mass of fallen limestone and flint blocks. It measures about 7 m. square. It is oriented n. n. e. by s. s. w. By it was found a small number of EI I-II sherds, and several Roman sherds.

To the w. n. w. of it, about 1.5 km. away, on the w. side of the intervening

Wādī er-Reṣeifeh and the railway line that runs along its w. side, is another ruined site situated on the top of a high hill. It is called Kh. Abū Ḥewei (259). It commands an excellent view of the surrounding countryside. To the n. w.-w. n. w. Kôm Yājūz is visible. To the e. n. e. can be seen the great ruined site of er-Reṣeifeh, and beyond it in the distance the modern village of er-Reṣeifeh. It consists of a much ruined blockhouse, inside of which is a large cistern. It is oriented w.-w. n. w. by e.-e. s. e., and measures 9.80 by 8 m. The middle of the e. side, however, is preserved to a height of 5 courses, or 1.85 m. A small modern building has been erected below the s. e. corner of the ruin. The corners are laid in headers and stretchers, and are built of large flint blocks, with the rest of the walls built of smaller blocks of flint and flint-conglomerate laid in rows, with smaller stones between them to keep them fairly even. The walls are now 2 to 3 courses high above the debris around them, which, if removed, would reveal 2 to 3 courses more. Below the hill is a spring in a small *wādī*, which going w.-e. joins the Wādī er-Reṣeifeh. Below the n. w. corner of the site is another cistern, in addition to the one inside the *qaṣr*. A small quantity of clear EI I-II sherds was found, bearing out the initial impression that this was an EI fortress. The hill on which it is built is now bare of almost all the soil, which once enabled the inhabitants of the site to cultivate it for sustenance.

N. w. of the road to Zerqā, on top of a large, high hill, which is almost completely isolated, is the large ruined site of er-Reṣeifeh⁵⁸¹ (260). The s. e. side is the most approachable one, being separated from the highland to the east of it by a depression. The n. side descends very steeply to the Wādī er-Reṣeifeh below it, through which the railway line runs. The s. s. w. and the n. n. e. sides slope down somewhat more gradually, but on the whole also quite steeply. Below the n. n. e. end of the slope on the latter side is a very strong spring, 'Ain er-Reṣeifeh, because of which this and another ancient site were constructed on appropriate hill-tops above it. Er-Reṣeifeh is about 1.5 km. n. n. e.-n. of er-Reṣeifāwī, and is about the same distance w. s. w. of the modern village of er-Reṣeifeh. The great quantity of water flowing from the spring irrigates gardens all the way between the foot of the hill on which this site is located and the modern village with the same name. The long and very narrow hill-top on which the ruins of the ancient site are strewn is oriented s. w.-w. s. w. by n. e.-e. n. e., and was once completely surrounded by a great wall, most of which has disappeared. At either end of the flattish top of the hill, and also approximately in the middle, are the ruins of three buildings, which even from the distance mark the hill-top as the site of an ancient

⁵⁸¹ Oct. 22, 1937.

settlement. The hill-top which was once enclosed within the wall measures approximately 200 by about 20 m. It has a blunt Zeppelin-like shape, the n. e. end being rather pointed, while the s. w. end widens out somewhat. The ruins of the tower at the n. e. end of the enclosed area at the top of the hill are oriented n. e. by s. w., and measure 8.50 by 8 m. About 100 m. beyond the s. w. side of this tower are the ruins of another, which is oriented s. e. by n. w., and measures 10 by 6.50 m. The ground slopes upward noticeably from tower I to tower II. About 55 m. beyond it are the ruins of another tower guarding the s. w. end of the hill-top. This tower is oriented s. e. by n. w., and measures 12.70 by 8.70 m. These ruined towers were built originally of comparatively small flint and limestone blocks. Between these three towers may be seen the wall foundations of other buildings. Large numbers of EB IV-MB IIA sherds were found on the top and slopes of er-Reseifeh, including a plain ledge-handle, pl. 14:2, which may be earlier than EB IV, and also several sherds belonging to EI I-II. The latter may have been brought there from the site on the opposite side of the Wâdī er-Reseifeh, called Kh. er-Reseifeh, which we shall discuss below. The Bronze Age site of er-Reseifeh was first discovered as such by Albright, who on the basis of the pottery which he found there dated it in "the very end of the 3rd millenium, and the beginning of the 2nd B. C."⁵⁸² At this site we see again the conformity to a pattern for the choice of sites in the Early Bronze Age period, which occurs with almost monotonous regularity. Given a high, flat-topped hill, which is almost completely cut off from its surroundings, a strong spring nearby, and cultivable soil on the top and slopes of the hill, the *fellaḥîn* of the period were almost bound to choose it as a site for fortification and settlement. The top and slopes of this hill are cultivated also today. From the top of this site, which some of the local Arabs called also Kherdabā, there can be seen across the Wâdī er-Reseifeh to the n.-n. n. e. a large, ruined site, called Kh. er-Reseifeh. It is on a hill some distance back of and above the strong spring 'Ain er-Reseifeh, and the large pool of water formed in the *wâdī* partly by damming up the flow of the stream. The railway line passes between the edge of the *wâdī* and the base of the hill on which Kh. er-Reseifeh is situated. Beyond the lower s. s. w. end of the hill of er-Reseifeh, along the face of the cliffs rising on the n. side of the *wâdī* are numerous caves, which may well have been utilized particularly in EB IV-MB IIA times.

The large site on the hill across the *wâdī* called Kh. er-Reseifeh (261), which is n. n. e. of er-Reseifeh, consists of a maze of ruined foundations and partly standing walls, which cover the sides and top of the hill, whose s. slope

⁵⁸² *Bulletin* 49, p. 29; 68, p. 20.

is not far from 'Ain er-Reṣeifeh. The ruins are in such a state that nothing can be planned without extensive excavation, everything being covered by a mass of fallen building blocks from structures of various periods. Among the ruins and on the slopes of the hill, particularly on the s. and e. sides, were found several EB IV sherds, in addition to a small number of EI I-II sherds. It would seem necessary to consider er-Reṣeifeh and Kh. er-Reṣeifeh as separate parts of the same Bronze Age settlement. There were also large quantities of other sherds, including numerous pieces of 'Pergamene' type of sigillata and other Roman and Byzantine sherds, many fragments of Byzantine tiles, and some mediaeval Arabic sherds. The Roman and Byzantine sherds seem to date from about the 2nd to the end of the 5th century A. D. Most of the present ruins seem to belong to Roman and Byzantine structures.

Several hundred metres south of the village of Zerqā, on the e. side of the Wādī Zerqā, which flows north at this juncture, is a large, completely destroyed site, called Qereiyat Ḥadīd (266), which is spread over a considerable area. To judge both from the nature of the ruins and the types of sherds found, this was a particularly important site in the Roman period. There were numerous pieces of fine sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type, as well as many other Roman sherds. There were also some early Byzantine sherds, and several EI I-II sherds, testifying to the partial occupancy of this site during the Early Iron Age. We found no ruins which could be attributed to that period, all of them having been torn down or covered over by the subsequent buildings of the Roman and Byzantine occupations. A strong spring on the w. side of the site empties into the Wādī Zerqā.

Somewhat more than 2.5 km. w. s. w. of the large modern village of Zerqā, is Kh. Umm Beidā⁵⁸³ (265). It is a small, completely destroyed site, on the top of a hill. About 60 m. s. s. w. of it is another *rujm*, somewhat larger, built on the slope of the hill, with some old grave-stones (?) below its s. w. side. Both of these *rujūm* were in such a ruined state that no conclusions with regard to their time of origin could be ventured, and no sherds were found to help indicate during which period or periods the site had been occupied.

About a kilometre to the s. s. w. is Rujm Darīk (264). It is a fairly large, almost completely destroyed site, consisting of the ruins of one small block-house, with the ruins of a number of other buildings clustering about it, all of them built of flint blocks. The main, small building is oriented n. e. by s. w., and measures about 10 by 6 m. The s. w. side is the best preserved one. The site is situated on a ridge between two small *wadyān*, the Wādī Umm Beidā on the n. w. side, and the Wādī 'Azariyah (?) on the s. e. side. The village of

⁵⁸³ Oct. 23, 1937.

Zerqā is clearly visible from the top of the ridge. Only a few scraps of pottery were found, so worn as to be indistinguishable, in addition to one painted, mediaeval Arabic sherd. This site, and the one just mentioned above, and several others in the immediate vicinity are situated in a very poor, rocky, hilly area, which is almost completely uninhabited today. It is difficult to assign a date for the origin of the small buildings at Rujm Darīk, but they probably do not precede the Byzantine period. About 1.5 km. to the s. w. is Rujm el-Meshâtel (262). It is a very small, completely ruined tower on a knoll, with only its foundation stones left to indicate its former presence. No sherds were found. About half a kilometre to the w.-w.n.w. of it is Rujm Qerqersh (263). To the s. w. of it in the distance there stands out the hill of er-Reṣeifeh, on top of which almost more clearly to be seen from the distance than from close at hand is the great, walled Early Bronze Age site. Rujm Qerqersh is situated at the s. w. end of a high hill, which is almost completely isolated except on its e. side. Below its n. side is the Wādī Khazāneh, and on the s. side is the Wādī esh-Shekârah (?), which turns south, and runs into the Wādī er-Reṣeifeh. The *rujm* consists of the ruins of a larger tower, oriented e.-w., which measures 15.20 by 13 m. It is built of large flint blocks, with its corners laid in headers and stretchers. The w. wall is still 4 courses, or 1.75 m. high. The walls are approximately one metre thick. The s. wall is less well preserved, while the other walls are almost completely fallen down. No sherds could be found either by the ruins of the site, or on the steep sides of the hill, having apparently been washed away by the rains of the centuries, which have also taken with them almost all of the soil which once covered the now bare rocks of the hillsides. It seems very likely, however, in view of the nature of the construction of this fortress, that it is to be assigned to the Early Iron Age. At the e. n. e. end of the hill, about 100 m. away from the *qaṣr*, are the ruins of some smaller buildings in such a jumble that no measurements could be taken. Below the e. end of the s. wall of the main *qaṣr* are the remains of what may originally have been a small reservoir.

About 8 km. n. n. w. of the modern village of Zerqā is the modern Tshetshan (Mohammedan Russian) village of Sukhneh, on the e. side of the Wādī Zerqā, which flows almost due northward also at this part of its course. Below the s. w. side of the hillock on which the village is built, is the very strong spring of 'Ain es-Sukhneh, whose waters, together with the stream of the Wādī Zerqā, are utilized to irrigate a considerable area of fields and gardens. Around this strong spring, whose waters flow into the Wādī Zerqā, there have clustered several important ancient sites. We have not yet had time to examine the slopes and tops of the hills on either side of the Wādī Zerqā between Sukhneh and Zerqā, but there is undoubtedly a considerable number of ancient sites to

be found in this stretch, whose inhabitants cultivated the banks and slopes of the hills leading up from the Wādī Zergā at least as intensively in ancient times, as the modern inhabitants do today. In general, it may be said that the Wādī Zergā with its fertile banks and slopes is the most intensively cultivated *wādī* that we have seen thus far in our explorations of Eastern Palestine. Until the *wādī* becomes very precipitous, several kilometres west of the point where the Jerash bridge used to be, which formerly spanned the Wādī Zergā on the Şuweileh-Jerash road, most of the available soil is in cultivation. The intensive degree of cultivation which is thus particularly marked along the banks and slopes of the Wādī Zergā, is not without its disadvantages for the archaeological explorer, who finds that most of his ancient sites have been ploughed over, and the remains of buildings so razed to the ground, and sherds so broken, or so buried, that it becomes difficult to find many identifiable pieces. Particularly, therefore, along the Wādī Zergā does the importance of the fragments of pottery for the approximate fixing of the time of the occupation or occupations of a site in the ancient past stand out, because oftentimes there is absolutely nothing else left to give the archaeologist a clue as to whether or not an ancient site actually existed on a certain spot and to what period of history it can be assigned.

About a kilometre s. e. of Sukhneh, on the top of an extremely prominent hill to the east of the Wādī Zergā, and commanding a splendid view of the entire countryside round about, is a very large, much ruined site, for which we were given the names of Kh. el-Breitâwī⁵⁸⁴ and Qur'amet Abū el-Ḥuseinī (312). Whether either of these names is correct, or both, there is no mistaking the location of the site. In the very center of the large ovoid area on the top of the hill, which in its largest dimensions measures approximately 60 by 40 m., and is oriented n.-s., are several large, much ruined buildings. They are constructed of small, rudely cut limestone and flint and flint-conglomerate blocks laid in rough rows, with smaller stones between them to keep them fairly even. The land slopes from these central buildings downward to the outer brow of the hill, all around whose top edge, and around the shelf immediately below it there is, respectively, a row of narrow houses. Their doorways face inwards towards the center top part of the hill. These outer, encircling rows of buildings make the impression of being composed of numerous cellae of a large monastic settlement. On the n. e. top side of the hill are two very large cave-cisterns, with separate openings into them for the drawing out of water. The main entrance-way to the site is at the e. end of the n. wall, which together with a wall on the e. side, protected the n. e. top of the hill. The

⁵⁸⁴ Oct. 24, 1937.

entire hill-top may at one time have been enclosed within a wall, but so far as we could tell, only the n. e. angle was thus given additional protection, besides that afforded by the strong walls of the outer sides of the above mentioned encircling rows of buildings. The most easily approachable side of the hill is the n. e. one, which explains why the n. e. corner was particularly strengthened by strong walls. Inside the open area in the n. e. walled angle of the hill-top, behind the main entrance-way, is another large cave-cistern. The slopes of this hill seem at one time to have been partly terraced. On the slopes below the top of the hill there are also several more cisterns, in addition to those on the top. The ruins are in such a tangled mass that it is difficult after merely a cursory examination to attempt to pick out which buildings, or which foundations belonged to any particular historical period. Most of the present ruins would seem to belong either to the Byzantine or to the mediaeval Arabic periods. A small number of EB IV-MB I sherds, as well as a small quantity of worn EI I-II sherds were found; there were also numerous Byzantine sherds, and large numbers of mediaeval Arabic painted and glazed sherds.

Less than a kilometre w. s. w. of Sukhneh, on the top of a high hill on the w. side of the Wādī Zerqā, overlooking the *wādī* below it and the village of Sukhneh beyond it, is the very extensive site of er-Reheil (314), which is also known as Kh. Jebel el-‘Āsī. The Wādī Zerqā bends around the cultivated fields below the base of the hill from the s. s. e. to the n. e., and then to the n. w. On the w. side of the hill, a small dry *wādī*, called the Wādī er-Reheil, bends around its base, thus completely cutting off the hill, which stands like an island, so to speak, between the two *wudyan*. The entire long, narrow top of the hill is oriented for the most part s. s. e. by n. n. w. The main anciently occupied part of the hill-top measures approximately 350 by 30 by 50 m. It seems once to have been completely enclosed by a strong outer wall, of which, however, there are now but few traces. The top of the hill is a maze of fallen stones, and some *rujūm* which indicate where once buildings or towers stood. Only one half of the long, narrow hill is built on, being divided by a saddle from the exceedingly narrow and rocky s. half of the hill-top. At the s. s. e. end of the built-on n. part of the hill-top, overlooking the saddle which separates it from the s. half, is a completely ruined tower, represented by a *rujm*. The width at the top of the hill at this point is about 30 m. There are also traces of a wall across the width of the s. end of the occupied part of the hill, in front of the tower. The land slopes sharply upward at this point to *rujm* II, about 110 m. away. This *rujm* represents the ruins of a tower about 8 m. square. For about 80 m. farther to the north, there is still an upward slope, while the built-on area widens out to about 55 m. On two shelves of land below the width of the hill along this stretch, there are additional ruins of

houses. Proceeding to the north, there is then a stretch of the hill-top which is about 100 m. in length, the end of which is marked by another much ruined tower, which is about 6 m. square. From this point, the land slopes downward again for about 60 m. to what appears to be the end of the main part of the occupied area on the top of the n. half of the hill. The rest of the hill-top from this point on is oriented s. s. w. by n. n. e. Parts of the anciently occupied area on the top of the hill are ploughed today, as well as parts of the top slopes of the hill, which were once strongly terraced. Numerous EB IV-MB I sherds were found in this area, in addition to a few Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Without the sherds of all the various periods of occupation in this particular instance, it would have been most difficult to fix upon the original period of occupation of the site, in view of the fact that the n. end of the hill was obviously occupied during much later periods. Below the n. end of the EB IV-MB I area are several large caves. From these caves to the n. n. e. end of the downward sloping top of the hill, there is an area measuring about 250 by 30 m. In this area are the ruins of a small number of crude buildings, which obviously belong for the most part to a late A.D. period. There were large numbers of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds, but also some EB IV-MB I sherds. There were obviously Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic settlements on this part of the hill-top. The EB sherds at this end may have come from the s. area, although, of course, it is not impossible that there may have been several EB houses in this area also. We regard this, however, as unlikely, in view of our experience with other, more or less similarly located EB IV-MB I sites, in none of which are any house ruins to be found outside the main walled area. Conversely, the few Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds found within the EB IV-MB I area may have come from the Byzantine-mediaeval Arabic site, although again in this instance, during both of the latter periods, there may have been some occupation of the EB area.

Across the *wâdi* on the w. side of the base of this hill, on a small rise situated near the base of the ascending slope of the opposite hillside to the w. n. w. of er-Reheil, are visible the ruins of a strongly built site called Kh. el-Jamûs (315). It is a rather large site, containing the ruins of several groups of buildings, which are built in the "megalithic" style we have discussed above. Most of the buildings are, however, in such a ruined state, that nothing can be seen of them except heaps of great blocks of stone. Approximately in the center of the site is one building which, comparatively speaking, is fairly well preserved. It is oriented s. w. by n. e., and measures 7.40 m. square. The walls are still about 3 courses or 1.50 m. high. The corners were laid in headers and stretchers. One of the stretchers at the e. corner of the n. e. wall

measured 1.30 by .70 by .40 m. Below the e. corner of the building is a large cistern. There must be others under the debris. There is no cultivation going on now anywhere in the immediate vicinity of the site, although it must once have been the center of an extensively cultivated area. It does not seem altogether impossible that the Wādī Zergā may have shifted its course, and formerly passed on the w. side of the hill on which er-Reheil is situated, instead of on the e. side. Kh. Jamūs may therefore originally have had a perennial stream at its front door, so to speak, as the modern village of Sukhneh has today. However, sites such as eṣ-Ṣweiwīnā and Kh. Muḍmâr, where also there were great building complexes, were solely or almost wholly dependent upon cisterns, apparently, for their water supplies. To judge from the appearance of the remains of Kh. Jamūs it is possible to assign this "megalithic" village to the Early Iron Age. This impression is confirmed by a decisive number of clear EI I-II sherds, which were found among the ruins. There were also several early Byzantine sherds.

Below the w. side of the village of es-Sukhneh there extends a considerable area of well cultivated gardens, reaching down to the edge of the Wādī Zergā. At the n. w. end of this garden area is a small mound, called Kh. es-Sukhneh (316). There is a modern house built immediately below it, on its n. w. side, and some big holes have been gouged into the side of it by the owner of the house for gravel for various purposes. There are no surface ruins, but some houses must be hidden inside the small mound. On its surface were found a small quantity of clear EI I-II sherds and a larger number of clear early Roman sherds. It is evident that the main EI site was at Kh. Jamūs and not Kh. Sukhneh. Kh. Sukhneh is also known under the name of Aḥḍūd Abū Asūs. The other EI I-II site in the district was at Kh. el-Breitāwī, where, however, later remains have completely obscured the earlier site.

About a kilometre s. s. w. of Sukhneh, on the e. side of the Wādī Zergā, is a fairly large, completely destroyed site,⁵⁸⁵ situated on a small rise in the midst of the fertile, cultivated fields of a bend in the *wādī*. It is called Kh. es-Seil or Kh. Abdul Ḥamīd (313). Its presence is marked by a mass of fallen stones and some foundation walls. To judge from the sherds found among and beside the ruins, the site was occupied during the Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods.

About 2 km. n. w. of Sukhneh, on the n. w. tip of the top of a long, completely isolated hill, immediately overlooking, to the west, the confluence of the Wādī Ḥeseil and the Wādī Zergā, is Kh. Zaqm el-Gharābī⁵⁸⁶ (317). The banks of the *wudyân* on either side and in front of the hill are cultivated.

⁵⁸⁵ Aug. 2, 1938.

⁵⁸⁶ Aug. 3, 1938.

There is little left of the site except the outlines of the foundations of a large building-complex. It is oriented w. n. w. by e. s. e. and measures 28 by 21 m. The walls are built of fairly well-cut limestone blocks, and measure one metre thick. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found, and also some fragments of Roman glass. Beyond the s. e. end of the site are some modern graves.

Less than a kilometre to the n. w., on the n. side of the Wādī Zergā, is Kh. Wad'ah (318). It is situated near the top of the slope of a hill, and commands a view over the previous site. Sukhneh is visible to the s. e. It is a large, completely destroyed village, with a street, still visible, leading up to it from the *wādī* below on its e. side. The ruins cover a fairly large area, which is dotted with cisterns and cistern-caves. At the top of a rise in this ruined village are the remains of several large buildings which dominate the rest of the site. There are large quantities of sherds of the Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic periods. There were also fragments of Roman and Byzantine glass and pieces of sigillata of the 'Pergamene' type. There was also, however, a small number of EB IV-MB I and EI I-II sherds, indicating the earlier occupations of the site.

About a kilometre away to the w.-w. s. w., on the n. side of the Wādī Zergā, is a completely destroyed small village, called en-Nimrah (319). It is situated on a large, flat shelf, below the top of the broken plateau. The s. side of the shelf descends steeply to the cultivated bank of the Wādī Zergā. At the base of the hill on the s. side is a strong spring, 'Ain Nimrah, whose waters flow into the Wādī Zergā. There is only one comparatively well preserved building, whose s. wall is 3 courses, or 1.40 m. high. The s. e. corner is 4 courses, or 1.90 m. high. The walls are made of great, roughly hewn blocks, laid in headers and stretchers at the corners. It is oriented w. n. w. by e. s. e., and measures 11.20 by 10.10 m. The type of building would seem to belong to the Early Iron Age. In addition to several EB IV-MB I sherds, a small number of EI sherds was found. There were also numerous Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

About 2.5 km. to the w. n. w., on the w. side of the Wādī Zergā, is Kh. el-Bîreh (320). It is a large, but completely destroyed site, on the top of a high hill, which is almost completely isolated. The ruins are located on the w. side of the fairly flat hill-top. There is a large millstone on the n. e. side. Below the hill are the cultivated fields on the w. bank of the Wādī Zergā, whose course is to the n. w. in this section. Two ruined modern water-mills can also be seen below the base of the hill. Part of the slopes, and most of the top of the hill are now ploughed. At the n. w. corner of the top of the hill are remains of a strongly built wall, which is still 4 courses high. Some of the

stones measured at random are 1.50 by .60 by .50 m. There are clear traces of an outer wall on the e. side, and also on the n. side. It seemed possible that the site may have been occupied during the Early Iron Age, and likely, to judge from the nature of the location of the site, enclosed within walls on the fairly flat top of an almost completely isolated hill, that it may have been occupied during the Early Bronze Age. Careful search revealed the presence of several EB IV-MB I sherds and a small number of EI I-II sherds, one of them a handle with a potter's mark, confirming these impressions. Fragments of sigillata and other Roman sherds were found, in addition to Byzantine, and in particular numerous mediaeval Arabic sherds.

Less than 1.5 km. w. n. w.-n. w. of Kh. el-Bîreh is Kh. el-Howeîţân (321), on the s. side of the Wâdî Zerqâ. It is situated near the top of the slope of the hillside which leads down from the broken plateau to the bottom of the *wâdî*. All the good earth has long been washed away from the hillside, and now only the ragged rocks jut out in bare desolateness. It is a small, almost completely destroyed village, with practically only the foundations of some large buildings remaining. They are built of large flint blocks, some of which measure 1.50 by .45 by .30 m. Very few sherds could be found, and the only distinguishable ones were Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic. It does not seem impossible that this site also was occupied in the Early Iron Age. That a good part of the hill-side must at one time have been wooded is indicated by several isolated *butm* trees, which stand like sentinels on the highest points of the hill-tops immediately above this site.

Somewhat more than a kilometre to the west, on top of the highest hill-top in the entire vicinity, is the interestingly named site Rujm Nebî Ḥadad (323). It consists of a ruined *welî*, on the pinnacle of a very steep, and completely bare hill, from which almost all of the soil has been washed away. On the n. side of the *welî* is a lone *butm* tree, bent and twisted by the strong winds that blow over the exposed height. The sanctity of the *welî* has spread to the tree, and preserved it from the same fate that long ago was meted out to the hundreds of trees that must once have dotted the slopes of this and all the other now bare hills in the vicinity (Fig. 64). By the side of the tree, indeed hanging from its branches, and stuck into the walls of the remaining vault of the *welî*, are all sorts of rags and strings, some of them attached to sticks, bits of leather, and pieces of chains. Lying on the walls are old daggers, broken spurs, fragments of millstones, roof-rollers, battered scabbards, and bits of pottery, which reverent worshippers have brought as offerings after their manner to the sacred spirit they consider to be associated with the *welî*. The location is indeed a magnificent one for a sacred site. It commands a view over much of the length of the Wâdî Zerqâ. Sukhneh is visible to the

s. e.-e. s. e. Only a few sherds could be found despite the most careful search, and they included several Byzantine sherds, one mediaeval Arabic sherd, and, particularly, one unmistakable MB I sherd, on which was a raised band half pierced with numerous small holes. There is little reason to doubt that this one sherd indicates the presence of some small site during the early Middle Bronze Age. Not far away are some ruined *dolmen* which probably belong to the same period. It seems also most likely to us that this site was occupied during the Early Iron Age. We feel, indeed, that the name *Nebī Ḥadad* but



Fig. 64. Rujm Nebī Ḥadad, lk. s.

poorly conceals the name of the deity worshipped on this sacred high place from early historical times on, and that the god Ḥadad whose worship was so widespread in the ancient Near East was the god of this mountain. Just as Ḥadad, or rather Zeus-Ḥadad, was worshipped on the sacred high place in the Nabataean temple of Kh. et-Tannûr, so undoubtedly in a contemporary period, and in the periods preceding it and following it, he was worshipped on this sacred mountain overlooking the Zerqā with its perennial stream. The thunder god, who was the lord of the heavens, was at the same time the mountain god and the god of fertility, as evidenced at Kh. Tannûr.⁵⁸⁷ The tradition that this high hill is associated with Ḥadad has been continued down to our own day with the simple change that the god himself is represented by his

⁵⁸⁷ *Bulletin* 69, p. 14; Glueck, *The Theophany of the God of Sinai*, JAOS 56, pp. 462-471.

prophet. Surely Ḥadad and Nebī Ḥadad are essentially the same, however unaware of the ancient origin of their Nebī Ḥadad his modern worshippers may be.

About half a kilometre to the e. s. e. of the high pinnacle on which Rujm Nebī Ḥadad is situated, is another high hill, whose pinnacle is lower than that of the hill of Rujm Nebī Ḥadad. It is called Rujm Bint Ḥadad (322), also Benaiyat Ḥadad, and it too is marked by a lonely *butm* tree, whose sacred character has evidently preserved it from destruction. There are a few stones around the base of the hill, but otherwise no sign of ancient or modern construction. As from Rujm Nebī Ḥadad, so from this site, one commands a wonderful view of the Zergā. One wonders whether under the name Bint Ḥadad there may not be concealed the name of Ḥadad's consort, Atargatis, whom we found together with Ḥadad at Kh. Tannûr.⁵⁸⁸ Just as it is possible that Dhât Râs, the site of a large Nabataean temple area north of Kh. et-Tannûr, may have been devoted primarily to the worship of Atargatis, so Rujm Bint Ḥadad may have been dedicated to her, while the higher hill was devoted to her paredros, Ḥadad. May it not have been to hills such as these, even to these very ones devoted to Ḥadad and Atargatis, that Jephthah's daughter and her companions repaired for two months to bewail her maidenhood, after which she returned to her father that he might fulfil through her the tragic vow he had made?⁵⁸⁹

The tradition of the residence of a local variation of the great Syrian god of fertility, which clings so tenaciously to these hills, is evidenced still further by the presence of a site about 1.5 m. w. s. w. of Rujm Bint Ḥadad called 'Arqûb Ibn Ḥadad (324). It is situated on a fairly flat hill-top, which also is below the level of the top of the hill on which Rujm Nebī Ḥadad is situated. It consists of a field of apparently eleven *dolmens*, most of which are in a more or less ruined state. One dolmen, however, is still fairly intact. It consists of two great limestone slabs placed n.-s., lengthwise on edge, 1.10 m. high, with another slab placed e.-w. horizontally over them. The n. and s. ends are open (Fig. 65). The top stone measures 1.70 by 1.20 by .20 m. The dolmen rests on what was apparently once a circular base. No sherds were found on the site. It cannot be proven, but our impression based upon the *menhirs*⁵⁹⁰ found in connection with various EB IV-MB I sites leads us to believe that this dolmen field belongs to the EB IV-MB I period represented by the sherd from Rujm Nebī Ḥadad. We are inclined to believe that numerous other dolmen fields of the same type in Transjordan also belong to the EB IV-MB I period.

⁵⁸⁸ *Bulletin* 67, pp. 10-12; 69, p. 14; *AJA* XLI, pp. 361-76.

⁵⁸⁹ *Judges* 11, 34-40.

⁵⁹⁰ See above pp. 128-9.

Nearly 3 km. s. w-w. s. w. of 'Arqûb Ibn Ḥadad, and immediately n. n. e. of the modern village of Sarrût is Kh. el-Hawâyâ (311). The Wâdī Hawâyâ stretches between them. Kh. Hawâyâ is a large stone circle, about 23 m. in diameter, which is all that is left of what was evidently at one time a much larger site. It immediately overlooks the Wâdī Hawâyâ, on the w. side of which is the spring called 'Ain Hawâyâ, from which the modern village obtains its water supply. The large circle is formed by a wall which in places is still 3 courses, or 1.80 m. high. Its massive stones measure approximately 1.15 by .90 by .60 m. The area inside the circle, and the top slopes of the



Fig. 65. Dolmen at 'Arqûb Ibn Ḥadad, lk. n.

wâdī below it, are ploughed today, and contained a small number of clear EB IV-MB I sherds. Several Byzantine sherds were also found. It may well be that the village of Sarrût, immediately opposite the stone circle, and built on the slopes and top of a hill, occupies the area where once the main EB site was located.

About 3 km. n.-n. n. e. of Sarrût, on the w. side of the Wâdī Sakhârâ is Kh. Sakhârâ⁵⁹¹ (326). It consists of the remains of a small, well built Roman and Byzantine village, constructed over the site of previous EB IV-MB I and EI I-II settlements. It is situated on a rise on the top of the broken plateau-land, over-looking from the west the descent to the Wâdī Sakhârâ below it. Several kilometres north of it commences the descent to the Wâdī Zerqâ. The slopes leading down to the Wâdī Sakhârâ on the e. and down the n. side of

⁵⁹¹ Aug. 4, 1938.

the hillside are terraced and cultivated today. It is obvious that most of the terraces are of ancient origin. Immediately to the w. n. w. of the Roman-Byzantine ruins, across an intervening dip in the land, on a rise, are some foundation ruins of a comparatively modern(?) Arabic site, called Rujm Sakhârâ (327). The slopes between the two sites are terraced. On the slopes and tops of both sites and in the intervening area were found a small number of EB IV-MB I, a small number of EI I-II, and particularly at Kh. Sakhârâ, numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds. Among the Roman sherds were pieces of sigillata. On the w. n. w. side of the latter site are numerous cave-cisterns. Only parts of the strongly built walls of Kh. Sakhârâ are visible, being in places still several courses high, and containing drafted stones of Herodian type. At the w. end of Rujm Sakhârâ, just before the still slightly wooded slope of the hill above it begins, an open Roman tomb is visible, sunk into the rock. It measures 1.70 by .50 m., and at the present time is 1.05 m. deep. On the s. e. side of the bottom of the rise on which Rujm Sakhârâ is located is 'Ain Sakhârâ. Another spring is in the Wâdî Sakhârâ itself not far from it. From this point till where the Wâdî Sakhârâ joins the Wâdî Zerqâ, the banks and lower slopes of the *wâdî* are under irrigated cultivation.

About half a kilometre north of Rujm Sakhârâ, and on the slope which leads downward to the top of the broken plateau-land, overlooking the descent to the Wâdî Zerqâ, is Tell Sakhârâ, or, as it is also called, Tell el-'Ausājah (328). It is a completely destroyed site, with hardly a foundation stone visible, situated on a rise, surrounded on all sides except the n. by cultivated fields. On this side commences the main slope which finally leads abruptly down to the Wâdî Zerqâ. One black-glazed Hellenistic sherd, a small quantity of Roman sherds, including several pieces of sigillata, and several Byzantine sherds were found. The top part of the slope below the site is also cultivated.

Less than a kilometre east of Tell 'Ausājah, on the e. side of the Wâdî Sakhârâ is Kh. Momghareh (325). It is on top of a high and very steep hill, which our horses could mount only by short zigzag turns. The hill directly overlooks the confluence of the Wâdî Sakhârâ with the Wâdî Zerqâ, and the steep slopes which lead directly down to the cultivated fields along the s. side of the Wâdî Zerqâ. The Wâdî Zerqâ makes a large U-bend below the hill. This hill is almost completely isolated, being connected only by a deep saddle to the hill south of it. This site commands the strong springs below it to the n. w., in the Wâdî Sakhârâ, and directly above it. At one time the fairly flat hill-top was enclosed within a great outer wall, of which, however, only a few traces are left. In this area, and on the top slopes of the hill, we found a small quantity of EB IV-MB I sherds, and several Byzantine sherds. The hill-top, which was once obviously cultivated, is abandoned now.

Continuing westward, and following the course of the Wādī Zergā, we came to Tell Janû'beh (330) on the n. side of the Zergā, and immediately opposite it on the s. side, Tell Faqahîyeh (329). Tell Faqahîyeh is about 3 km. n.-n. n. e. of the modern village of el-'Ālūk. Tell Janû'beh is a large, completely isolated hill overlooking the Wādī Zergā from the north. Both its top and sides are ploughed, as is the rich little valley north of it. This valley is irrigated by the waters of the strong spring of 'Ain et-Tîn, which rises near the base of the steep hillside north of it. There are also cultivated fields on the other sides, and particularly on the e. side. Tell Janû'beh commands the fields extending along a n. bend of the Zergā, whose waters this far west flow strongly. The long, wide, fairly flat top of the hill is oriented e.-w., and is almost devoid of all ruins now except at its e. end. Near this end are the clear outer foundation walls of a building-complex, which is oriented e.-e. s. e. by w.-w. n. w. It measures approximately 50 m. square. At the e. end of the hill-top is a slight elevation on which are the ruins of several small buildings. On the slopes and top of this hill numerous EB IV-MB II A sherds were found, a majority of them belonging to the latter period. There were also numerous EI I-II sherds, to which period probably the building-complex belonged. In addition, there were numerous Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. It became apparent as we made our way along the Zergā that every bend along the stream where cultivation was possible had been utilized in the past even more intensively than during the present, and was obviously more intensively settled than now.

On the s. side of the Zergā is Tell Faqahîyeh, over which one commands a view from Tell Janû'beh. It is a flat-topped, natural mound, and is lower and smaller than Tell Janû'beh. There are no traces whatsoever left of building remains. We found after very careful search along the sides and top of the mound one EB IV sherd, two EI I sherds, five Byzantine sherds, and one large, worked flint scraper. Part of the flat top of the mound serves today as a threshing floor. Except on the rather steep n. side, it is surrounded by cultivated fields, and is possibly to be considered as an appendage worked by the inhabitants of Tell Janû'beh.

About 2 km. w.-w. n. w. of Tell Faqahîyeh is Kh. Benât⁵⁹² (331), situated on the fairly flat top of a high hill, overlooking from the south a U-bend of the Wādī Zergā. It is a completely destroyed site, consisting of the ruins of foundations of several buildings. Some of the foundations are made of well-cut limestone blocks. The top of the hill is ploughed up to the very edge of the ruins, and at the time of our visit tobacco was planted inside some of them. A small quantity of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds was

⁵⁹² Aug. 5, 1938.

found. Among the sherds, however, there were also several unmistakable EB IV-MB I pieces, representing all that remains of what was evidently once a typical early Bronze Age site on the top of a high, cultivated hill. The comparatively well-cut foundation stones may belong to an early Byzantine building. The top slopes of the hill are also ploughed, and have been ploughed now so steadily during the centuries that even all traces of the EB wall, which in all probability once enclosed the hill-top, have disappeared.

About 2 km. to the n. n. w., above Kh. el-Benât, is Kh. el-Ghuweirîn (333), on a small mound overlooking from the south a U-bend in the Wâdî Zerqâ. The top of the mound, which is oriented approximately e.-w., is covered with loose earth, where it is not ploughed. All the slopes of the mound were carefully terraced in ancient times, and are ploughed also today. The land below the mound is ploughed up to the very edge of the *wâdî*. A small quantity of EI I-II sherds was found, in addition to some early Roman and Byzantine sherds.

About a kilometre n. e. of Kh. el-Ghuweirîn, on the n. side of the Wâdî Zerqâ, is Tell Faqqas ⁵⁹³ (332). It is situated on the top of a high, steep hill, at the bottom of which, on its s. w. side, is a spring. The top slopes of the hill were carefully terraced in ancient times, and are cultivated today. The fairly flat top of the hill, which is roughly divided into two great terraces by a still visible cross-wall, is also cultivated today. There are traces of a wall which once evidently encompassed the hill-top, being particularly visible at the n. w. end of the site. The hill-top is oriented approximately n. n. e. by s. s. w., and measures 90 by 45 m. On the e. and w. sides are small *wudyân*, each of which rises to near the top of the hill at its n. e. end. The n. end of the hill-top is connected to the plateau beyond it by a deep saddle. The s. side of the hill descends in steep terraces to the cultivated fields along its base, fronting the n. side of the Zerqâ. There are some house or tower ruins at the n. e. and highest end of the hill-top, which is the most accessible one. Otherwise the ploughed hill-top is devoid of ruins, and would almost escape detection as the site of ancient settlements were it not for the numerous sherds found on the top, and particularly on the upper terraced slopes of the site. They include large numbers of EB IV-MB I sherds, and some which may be earlier, such as pl. 16 : 1.3. 15, numerous EI I-II sherds, and also some Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Most of the sherds were found on the upper n. w. side of the hill.

About half a kilometre n. e. of Kh. el-Ghuweirîn, and below it, on the s. side of the Wâdî Zerqâ, is an open, level area, covered with the debris of camps and animals, and centering around a sulphurous spring called el-Ḥammâm

⁵⁹³ Aug. 22, 1938.

(334). It was reopened about 15 years ago by the father of Rashîd Ḥamîd, a Circassian member of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities, who accompanied the writer during the archaeological exploration of this region. The waters of the strongly flowing spring are not warm, but have the name of el-Ḥammâm nevertheless. The spring is about 2 m. deep, and wide enough for four or five people to bathe in at once. That it was anciently used can be seen from the well-cut blocks of stone with which the bottom and sides of the pool are lined, and the strong brick-masonry and cemented rubble built around the pool, which probably at one time was completely lined with well-cut stone blocks. There is much evidence that there was during the Roman period an extensive bathing establishment in connection with the sulphurous spring, and perhaps other similar springs near it, which have since been covered up and choked. On the w. side of it there is a column-drum (?), half buried broadside in the ground, with a fragmentary Roman inscription visible. There are several other fragments of column-drums visible, and an almost completely buried Corinthian capital, in addition to some foundation stones of various buildings.

About 1.25 km. west of Ḥammâm, on the s. side of the Wâdî Zerqâ is Kh. Ja'eidî (335). The modern village of el-Maṣṭabah⁵⁹⁴ is visible on the top of the hill to the s.s.w.-s.w., while Jerash is visible in the distance to the n.-n.n.e. This site is located on the edge of the broken plateau, at the beginning of the steep descent to the s. side of the Wâdî Zerqâ below. It is a small, almost completely destroyed ruin, some of whose walls are still standing in places several courses high. There was a small number of Roman sherds, in addition to numerous Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

About 1.5 km. to the w.s.w., on the n. side of the Wâdî Zerqâ is Kh. el-Qurneh, also known as Kh. Nablusî (337). It is a small, completely destroyed site on a low mound, in the midst of cultivated fields. There are numerous flint blocks lying about. A small quantity of Roman and Byzantine sherds was found. It is immediately east of the track, much less used now than formerly, which leads from 'Ammân to Jerash. The modern, round-about automobile road has replaced it.

A kilometre to the south, on the s. side of the Wâdî Zerqâ, is Rujm Za'rûreh (336). It is situated on a shelf, near the top of the slope leading to the broken plateau overlooking the Zerqâ. The ruin consists of a small, completely ruined building made of large limestone blocks. Only a few very worn sherds could be found, one of which was clearly Byzantine. The modern

⁵⁹⁴ De Vaux, RB 47 (1938), p. 422, reports finding pottery as follows: ". . . un peu du Fer, puis Hellénistique, Romain, Byzantin."

village of Maṣṭabah is clearly visible across an intervening *wādī* on the top of the hill to the s. s. w.

A little more than a kilometre to the w. n. w. is Kh. el-Kenadiyeh ⁵⁹⁵ (339), on the n. side of the Zerqā. It is a completely destroyed site, situated on a low mound in the midst of cultivated fields. The built-up area of the mound is oriented w. s. w. by e. n. e., and measures 40 by 18 m. At the e. n. e. end are the remains of a building on a somewhat higher elevation, which once apparently dominated the site. The buildings were constructed of large flint blocks. Wherever the foundation walls are clearly to be seen, they measure 1.20 m. in width. The ruin made the appearance of having originally been EI. This impression was confirmed by the discovery of several clear EI I-II sherds, in addition to several Byzantine sherds. Below the e. n. e. end of the site is 'Ain Ḥamad, which irrigates some gardens.

About a kilometre to the north is Kh. Ṣuweirāt (338), well above the previous site, being situated on the edge of the broken upland overlooking the Zerqā. Visible from it to the s. s. w., on the s. side of the Zerqā, is Kh. Ṣuwārī, which we shall describe next. Kh. Ṣuweirāt consists of a fairly large, but completely destroyed limestone block site. The outlines of one building in particular are still visible, being oriented s. e.-n. w., and measuring about 20 m. square, with an entrance on the n. w. side. A small quantity of Roman and Byzantine sherds was found among the ruins. The site is in the midst of cultivated fields.

On the s. side of the Zerqā, s. s. w. of Kh. el-Kenadiyeh is Kh. eṣ-Ṣuwārī (340). It is situated on a high hill, which commands the pronounced sweep of the Zerqā in a sharp bend around the base of the hill. At the base of the hill, on the e. and s. e. sides, are cultivated fields. The slopes of the hill are partly cultivated, and the top slopes overlooking the Zerqā are still partly terraced and are cultivated. Around the top of the hill are remnants of an outer wall made of flint blocks, and on the fairly flat top the foundations of some buildings are visible. Particularly on the top slopes were found large numbers of EB IV-MB II A sherds, including several pieces with a fine, burnished, creamy slip. There were also numerous EI I-II sherds, and a small quantity of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

About 1.5 km. s. w.-w. s. w. of Kh. Ṣuwārī is Tell Tunyah (341). It is a completely destroyed site, of which practically no vestiges remain, on the top of a high, steep hill overlooking from the north a bend in the Wādī Zerqā. It is on the e. side of the modern road which sweeps up from the Wādī Zerqā northward to Jerash. On the s. and e. sides are cultivated fields along the

⁵⁹⁵ Aug. 21, 1938.

banks of the Zergā. There is also a cultivated area on the w. side of the base of the hill. The hill is almost completely isolated, except on the n. side, where it is connected by a land bridge to the hill to the north of it. On the top and sides of the hill are foundations of well-cut, large, flint blocks of large and small buildings. A small quantity of Roman sherds was found, including pieces of sigillata, and also a small quantity of Byzantine sherds.

About half a kilometre w. n. w. of Tell Tunyah, west of the site of the former bridge across the Zergā, on an outspur about 400 metres up the hillside, is a small, completely ruined site, called Kh. es-Segī (342). It is on the w. side of a small *wādī*, which runs s. s. e. down to the Zergā. A small quantity of Roman-Byzantine sherds was found by the ruins. On the s. side is a large, partly man-made cave-cistern, and above it the small spring called 'Ain Dalāl.

About 2 km. to the w.-w. s. w., on top of a high, steep hill, overlooking from the north a bend of the Zergā which passes along the e., s., and w. sides of the base of the hill, is Tell er-Reheil⁵⁹⁶ (343). The Wādī Zergā, from approximately the point of the former bridge across it, becomes increasingly narrow and rocky, and its sides precipitous as it continues westward. Our first attempt to get to the hill of er-Reheil by riding along the *wādī* bed did not succeed. It was very difficult for the horses, and we were soaked in vain. A second attempt along a narrow path winding up and down the steep slopes of the *wādī*, usually at a considerable height, and necessitating descending and crossing it and ascending again several times, was successful. The banks of level ground on the sides of the hill between its base and the edge of the *wādī* are unexpectedly wide, and afford an opportunity for cultivation. At one time there may have been a decent approach to the hill on which Tell er-Reheil is located by a road alongside the n. side of the *wādī*, coming from the east. About half way from the Jisr Jerash, on the s. side of the Zergā, is an abandoned, modern water-mill, which up till several years ago could be reached by carts from the main n.-s. road to Jerash. The mill, called Taḥūnet Burmā, has had to be abandoned, because the turbulent waters of the Zergā have cut away all possible approaches to it, as they may have cut away a road leading to Tell er-Reheil. The hill of Tell er-Reheil is almost completely isolated, and stands almost like an island in the Wādī Zergā, whose upper walls tower above the hill-top on all sides. At the very e. end of the hill-top is a land-bridge, which extending northward connects it with the mainland on the n. side of the *wādī*. It is this high land-bridge which deflects the waters of the *wādī*, and compels them to find a circuitous course around it. The long, narrow hill-top, which together with its top slopes, particularly on the n. side, is

⁵⁹⁶ Aug. 22, 1938.

ploughed for cultivation, is in the form of a shallow sickle, with the outer side of the curve facing the *wādī*. It is oriented approximately s.s.w. by n.n.e., and measures about 266 by 26 m. There are several blocked-up cisterns on the fairly flat top of the hill, and some indistinguishable ruins near the s. end and at the middle. At the n.e. tip of the n.*end, commanding the land-bridge which affords the only comparatively easy approach to the site, are the ruins of a tower which measures about 6 m. square. On the w. side of the n. end are the remains of a long narrow room or building, which is about 17 m. long and about 5.50 m. wide, and part of whose w. wall can still be seen. On the top, and particularly on the upper part of the w. slope of the hill were found numerous EB IV-MB II A sherds, including several pieces with a fine, burnished, creamy slip. There were also numerous EI I-II sherds, including a fragment of a pottery figurine of a bull (?). A small number of Byzantine sherds was found in addition. There are traces of an outer wall which originally surrounded the site during the EB IV-MB II A period. The long, narrow room at the n.w. end of the site is reminiscent of a somewhat similar one at the EB site of el-Qeṣeir.⁵⁹⁷ Between Jisr Jerash and Taḥūnet Burmā, which we mentioned above, on the n. side of the Zerqā, is a small, stopped-up sulphur spring. We also passed a small hot spring,—or so it is called,—west of Kh. Nabluṣī, on the s. side of the Wādī Zerqā.

South of the Wādī Zerqā, on the e. side of the road, is the modern Turkoman village of er-Rummān, the only one of its kind left in Transjordan, where previously a relief had been found representing a bull and a fish (?), a lintel ornamented with a rosette, and an inscription reading *legio* on each of two stones, among other pieces.⁵⁹⁸ We did not examine the village, camping merely on several successive nights in its vicinity.

About a kilometre s.w.-w.s.w. of er-Rummān, on top of a large, high hill overlooking the very strong 'Ain Râs el-Moyat Rummān below its n.e. side, is Kh. er-Rummān (304). The hill is almost completely surrounded by *wudyan*. On the e. and n. sides is the Wādī er-Rummān, on the e. and s.w. sides the Wādī Tela' Abū 'Alī (?). About half way up the n.e. slope is a large cave called Mughâret el-'Eishā. On the fairly flat top of the hill, near the s. end of the site, are two cisterns. A dip in the land separates the s. end of the hill from the broken, rolling plateau beyond it. The slopes of this hill are ploughed from the bottom to the top, and the great walled site on the top of the hill is ploughed on the inside. The general lines of the foundation walls of the ruined site can be traced. The walled area is oriented n.-s., and is about 55 m. square,

⁵⁹⁷ See above pp. 198-9.

⁵⁹⁸ Palästinajahrbuch I, 1905, pp. 45-46; ZDPV 29, 1906, pp. 201-3; RB 47 (1938), p. 422.

with a great rectangular extension at the s. end, guarding the most accessible side. The walls are built of large limestone blocks, and are 1.20 m. thick. The most extensive ruins are at the s. end of the site. The s.e. corner is 2 courses, or .90 m. high. Large quantities of EB IV-MB I and EI I-II sherds were found on the slopes, particularly the top slopes, and on the top of the hill. In addition there was a small number of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. It is difficult to say whether the extant walls belong to the EB IV-MB I or to the EI I-II period, although the latter seems to be the more probable. There seem in places to be traces of a glacis built against the outer walls of the site. The village of er-Rummân is visible on the top of the hill to the n.e.-e.n.e. The ancient site which it replaced seems by far a better location, and is much nearer to good water.

About 1.5 km. e.-e.n.e. of Kh. er-Rummân, is Dhaharet Abū Trâb. It is on the n.e. side of a hill, near the top. There are no ruins whatsoever visible. The ground, however, is strewn with pieces of slag, and a small quantity of Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds was found. Near the top of the hill are three large caves, several of which were evidently at one time used as cave-cisterns. A channel dug out of the rock is visible, which at one time led rain-water into one of these cave-cisterns. One sherd was found which might be EI. We were not able to ascertain the origin of the ore which was smelted, nor why the remaining slag should be found at only this one site. This site is marked on the map as Kh. Abū Trâb (306).

A kilometre and a half n.w. of Kh. Abū Trâb, and about 2 km. e.n.e.-n.e. of er-Rummân is Kh. Abū Zebnâ (307). El-Maṣṭabah (308) is visible to the n.-n.n.e. This is a small, completely destroyed site on a hill-top, which is ploughed wherever possible, as are the slopes. The n. slope is quite steep. Below it on this side is the Wādī er-Raḥmanīyah. On the top of the hill are the very poor remains of a building which is oriented n.-s., and measures 14.20 m. square. Its corners can just be made out. On the top and the slopes of the hill were found small quantities of EB IV-MB II A and EI I-II sherds. There also were some Roman sherds, and a small quantity of Byzantine sherds. It seems probable that the ruined building belonged originally to the EI I-II period.

Almost 3 km. to the east on the top of the highest point in the vicinity, in a rolling, broken, upland, wooded district is Kh. el-'Asnemeh (309). It is a small site, consisting of several buildings, one of which, in particular, is still comparatively intact. The slopes of the hill were once carefully and very strongly terraced with the same type of great limestone blocks with which the small, comparatively intact building was made. This building is oriented n.-s., and is about 7 m. square, with an entrance (?) on the w. side. At the

corners are engaged pilasters. Some of the large blocks of stone in this small but massively built structure measure 1.30 by .65 by .35 m. Near this building was found an altar-piece with Ionic volutes and a thunderbolt (?) motif between the two ends of the volutes (Fig. 66). There is a magnificent view from the ruins of this building over the descent to the Wâdî Zerqâ. There are several cave-cisterns to be seen in the vicinity of the ruins. The main part of the present site evidently goes back to the Roman, early A.D. period, to judge from the altar-piece with Ionic volutes, and numerous early Roman



Fig. 66. Altar-piece (?) from el-'Asnemeh.

sherds. There were also numerous Byzantine sherds, as well as several mediaeval Arabic sherds. The earliest settlement, however, on this site, to judge from pottery remains, preceded the Roman, because among the sherds was a small quantity of clear EI I-II pieces. There seem to be no building remains which can be assigned to the Early Iron Age, at least none which we noticed during our hasty examination of the site, except perhaps some of the terrace walls. The region is studded with numerous oak trees, which must at one time have been part of a great forest.

About 1.25 km. s. e. of the modern village of Mursî is Kh. el-'Edhmah (300). It is a tremendous mediaeval Arabic site, which occupies a considerable area on a central high-point in a fertile, terraced, upland hill-country. It commands a view over a large part of the Beq'ah plain to the south of it, and also of the descent to the edge of the broken plateau overlooking the Zerqâ.

It is the largest mediaeval Arabic site thus far visited during the A. S. O. R. archaeological survey of Transjordan. There are large quantities of painted and glazed sherds of this period of all types and designs. It is for the mediae-



Fig. 67. Umm er-Raşâş.

(Courtesy Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Middle East).

val Arabic period what such a place as Umm er-Raşâş (Fig. 67) is for the Byzantine period. We have seen from the fact that some mediaeval Arabic sherds were found at most of the sites visited, in addition to Roman and Byzantine sherds, that the periods they represent were very intensively settled ones, at least in central Transjordan. A regular archaeological expedition

would be necessary to make plans of this extensive site, whose ruined walls, in many instances leveled to the ground, can still on the whole be clearly traced. We made no attempt in the course of an hour's visit to plan the site. Among the ruins may be seen a considerable number of cisterns. In addition to mediaeval Arabic sherds there was a small quantity of Byzantine sherds. There were also four clear EI I-II sherds, indicating that at one time this strategically located site was occupied also during the EI I-II period.

Somewhat less than 3 km. to the n. w.-w. n. w. is Kh. Meshôbesh (310). It is situated on the fairly flat top of a large, steep, completely isolated hill. The village of Mursî is visible below it in the distance to the s. w.-w. s. w. The entire hill-top was once enclosed by a wall built of large, rude, limestone blocks, of which in places little remains, but which on the whole can be clearly traced. On the s. side of the hill is the Wâdî el-Kemshî, and immediately below the s. base of the hill is the Wâdî 'Ain Mâlikah (?). On all the other sides are deep depressions, which may also be called *wudyân*. There is a large cistern near the top slope on the s. side. The walls, which follow the contours of the hill-top seem to be 3 m. thick, including a stone rubble fill between the inner and outer faces. Oriented approximately n. e.-s. w., the site measures about 108 by 78 m. The enclosed hill-top is ploughed, and only numerous crude limestone blocks reveal the presence of former buildings or towers. There are some oak trees growing on the slope and top of the hill, where large numbers of EB IV-MB I sherds were found. In addition there were several Roman, and a small quantity of Byzantine sherds.

Seven km. s. s. w. of er-Rummân is the modern village of er-Remeimîn. A few hundred metres n. n. w. of the village, on top of a high, steep, and almost completely isolated hill is Tell el-'Oreimeh⁵⁹⁹ (292), which overlooks the village. Below the steep e. and n. e. sides is the Wâdî er-Remeimîn. Below the less steep w. side is the Wâdî Ḥanash. The s. end alone is not cut off by a *wâdî*. The long, narrow, fairly flat topped hill, which is really a great out-spur between two *wudyân*, is oriented practically n.-s. The entire top, and the upper part of the slopes, particularly on the e. side, were ploughed at the time of our visit. To judge from the example of numerous other sites, the entire hill-top must at one time have been enclosed within a great outer wall, all traces of which, however, have now disappeared. The fairly flat hill-top which was thus probably surrounded by a wall measures approximately 195 by 40 m. At the s. and most accessible end are the ruins of what was evidently once a very strong tower. Also at the n. end of the hill-top, and approximately in the middle, are further ruins of strong towers or fortresses. On the top and slopes of the hill a large quantity of EB IV-MB I sherds was found. In

⁵⁹⁹ Aug. 26, 1938.

addition there was a small quantity of Byzantine sherds, and several mediaeval Arabic sherds. There is a perennial flow of water in the Wādī er-Remeimîn. There are several springs along the course of the Wādī er-Remeimîn, called the 'Ayûn 'Aşâ'igh, and around them, or in their immediate vicinity, have clustered the largest group of EB IV-MB I sites we have found thus far so close to one another.

On the e. side of the Wādī er-Remeimîn, on a high, sloping bench, is Kh. Jûret el-Khazneh (291). It is n. e. of Tell el-'Oreimeh. The strong spring 'Ain el-'Aşâ'igh is visible in the *wādī* below it to the s.-s. s. e., whose waters, together with those of the other 'Ayûn 'Aşâ'igh, furnish water to operate a small grain mill on the w. side of the *wādī* below this site. Kh. Jûret el-Khazneh is a small, completely destroyed site, with large and small limestone blocks scattered about, indicating the existence of a former building or buildings. The fields around and below this site were anciently terraced. Numerous EI I-II sherds were found, and it seems probable that the main ruins belonged to the EI I-II period. There was also, however, a small quantity of EB IV-MB I sherds. In addition there were several Byzantine sherds, and one fragment of a double-edged flint knife.⁶⁰⁰ This site is about half way down from the top of the broken upland country east of it, and the bed of the Wādī er-Remeimîn below it to the west.

On the w. side of the Wādī er-Remeimîn, immediately s. s. w. of Kh. Jûret el-Khazneh and about on the same level, is Kh. Jûret el-Medâq (290). It is a very small, completely destroyed site, with only a few traces of former foundations. A small number of Byzantine sherds was found.

On the e. side of the Wādī er-Remeimîn, immediately opposite er-Rummân, whose two churches can be clearly seen, is Kh. el-'Oreimeh (289). Tell el-'Oreimeh is visible to the n. w. Kh. el-'Oreimeh is situated on an almost completely isolated hill-top, connected only at its s. end to the hill beyond it. The hill with its anciently terraced slopes overlooks from the south the confluence of the Wādī 'Aşâ'igh (er-Remeimîn) which passes below its w. side, with the Wādī Umm ed-Denânîr, which passes below its e. side. The fairly flat hill-top, which is oriented almost due n.-s., measures about 162 by 20 m. At the s. end are the ruins of a large tower guarding the most accessible approach to this site from the hill to the south of it, to which it is connected, as we have seen, by a land-bridge. The hill-top dips from north to south, and inclines slightly from east to west. This hill is really the outstretched end of the range extending between the Wādī Umm ed-Denânîr, and the Wādī el-'Aşâ'igh. On the top and slopes of the hill were found numerous EB IV-

⁶⁰⁰ Albright, *Bulletin* 53, pp. 15-16; ANNUAL XVII, p. 13, and Pl. 45: 18-24.

MB I sherds, a small quantity of Byzantine sherds, and also one mediaeval Arabic sherd. It is probable that this hill-top, too, was enclosed during the EB IV-MB I period with a strong outer wall. The numerous EB IV-MB I sites in the vicinity may be considered as a small group of farming communities clustered on once fertile hill-tops, below which or close to which were (and are) strongly flowing springs.

About a kilometre to the s. s. e., on the e. side of the Wâdī Umm ed-Denânîr, is Kh. Umm es-Sandyanah (288). It is a much ruined building, divided off into a number of rooms, some of whose cross-walls can be made out, but part of whose interior is used now as a threshing floor. The building, situated on a flat bench, below the level of Kh. el-'Oreimeh, is oriented s. s. w. by n. n. e., and measures 26.50 by 22 m. A small quantity of Byzantine sherds was found.

About a kilometre s. w.-s. s. w. of er-Remeimîn, on the w. side of the Wâdī el-'Aşâ'igh are the Rujûm el-'Aşâ'igh (287), immediately n. w. above the three very strong springs of 'Ayûn el-'Aşâ'igh. South of these springs is another one called 'Ain es-Subâq. Rujm 'Aşâ'igh I is a small, completely destroyed building, on a bench immediately above the *wâdī*, and is almost completely ploughed over. By the site were found EB IV-MB I, EI I-II, Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. This site is about on the same level as the village of er-Remeimîn. About 100 m. to the west on a rise are the ruins of a small building which we shall call *rujm* II, and about 200 m. w. n. w. of *rujm* I is another small mound, on the slope which rises to the west. This third *rujm* is also called Rujm 'Aqabet el-Buṭmeh, and is the most pronounced *rujm* of the three. By it we found a well developed envelope-handle, in addition to other MB I and EB IV, and EI I-II sherds. Just which of these three *rujûm* may be assigned to EB IV-MB I, and which to EI I-II is impossible to say. The fertile slope, to judge from the sherds, was occupied in almost every historical period known in this region from the EB IV-MB I period on. That we found no Roman sherds we regard as an accident, because this, and several other of the last few mentioned sites where Byzantine sherds were found, must also have been occupied during the Roman period.

About 1.5 km. w.-w. n. w. of er-Remeimîn is Kh. el-Khabî'ah⁶⁰¹ (293). It is situated in a fairly fertile, hilly area, on top of a terraced hill, and consists now of the remains of a strongly built tower of large, crudely cut, limestone blocks. It is built partly against a natural rock-outcrop. It overlooks the Wâdī Umm Tîneh and the 'Ain Umm Tîneh to the west, where some gardens may be seen. The ruins probably belong to the EI I-II period. Sherds of this period were found, but there were also sherds of the EB IV-MB I period, and some Byzantine sherds.

⁶⁰¹ Aug. 27, 1938.

Less than 2 km. to the n. w. is Kh. Jel'ad (296). It is situated on top of a very large hill, which was anciently terraced and which at the time of our visit was ploughed from bottom to top. Some cave-cisterns are visible near the top slopes of the village. It is littered with masses of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds, among which we also found some Roman, and a small quantity of clear EI I-II sherds. The ruins on the top of the hill consist of remains of mediaeval Arabic and modern buildings, for the most part. No



Fig. 68. Roman building at Jel'ad.

traces of ancient outer walls could be seen, having been replaced, if ever they existed, by *modern* walls which encircle most of the brow of the hill. Below the base of the hill to the e. n. e.-n. e. is the fairly strong spring 'Ain Jel'ad. The Wâdî Jel'ad bends around the e. and n. e. sides of the hill. Near the s. w. end of the hill-top is a comparatively well preserved, small building, called el-Muşbaghah, which is probably the remains of a Roman mausoleum. This building is 7.30 m. square, and still about 4 m. high. It is much similar to the mausoleum at Qaşr Nuweijis, which we have discussed above,⁶⁰² and is well represented in Palestine and Transjordan during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D.⁶⁰³ Above the doorway is a window, with a niche on either side (Fig. 68). Near the bottom of the hill on the n. w. side is an extensive Roman

⁶⁰² See above pp. 175-6.

⁶⁰³ Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* II, pp. 99-100; PA II, pp. 207-215; Butler II B, fig. 103. 104; pp. 91-92; RB 47 (1938), p. 416, no. 43.

necropolis, consisting of rectangular shafts sunk into the rock and opening vertically onto two arcosolia, one on each side. The shafts measure 1.70 by .50 m., and the top of the vaults of the arcosolia are about .80 m. from the top of the shaft down. By the sides of these shafts were the heavy stone covers, some almost intact, which fitted into grooves along the edges of the tops of the shafts. We saw six of these shafts,⁶⁰⁴ but there are undoubtedly more. They are similar to the one we saw at Rujm Sakhârâ.⁶⁰⁵

Less than a kilometre to the n. w.-n. n. w. is Jel'ûd⁶⁰⁶ (297). It is a completely destroyed site on the top of an anciently terraced hill, with practically no vestiges left of ancient habitation except numerous Byzantine and large quantities of mediaeval Arabic sherds. Near the bottom of the hill, on its e. side, the position of a recently dried-up spring, 'Ain Jel'ûd, was pointed out to us. About 1.25 km. to the n.-n. n. e. of it is Kh. el-Meshrefeh (298) on top of a hill littered with stones. It showed the same occupational history as Jel'ûd, to judge from the sherds found there.

The farthest-west points on the Zerqâ that we were able to visit were the Tulûl edh-Dhahab.⁶⁰⁷ Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqîyeh (344) is on the s. side of an inverted U-bend of the Zerqâ, while Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbîyeh is on the n. side of an adjacent U-bend of the Zerqâ. Actually Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqîyeh is situated slightly farther to the north than Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbîyeh (345) across the Zerqâ from it to the w.-w. s. w. Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqîyeh is on the top of a high, very steep hill, which is oriented w. n. w.-n. w. by e. s. e.-s. e. The Zerqâ bends around the base of the hill on all sides except the s. e. one. At either end of the narrow, platform-like top of the natural hill are the ruins of two towers or block-houses, built of large, crudely cut blocks, which gave the hill-top additional protection besides that afforded by its position on top of a completely isolated hill, for in winter time the flood waters of the Zerqâ cut off even the s. e. side from a dry approach, and the hill becomes a veritable island. A great stone wall, 2 m. thick, leads from the top w. end down the s. w. side of the hill, to the edge of the practically perpendicular wall which plunges down to the Zerqâ. Somewhat to the n. w., below the end of this wall, and immediately overlooking the perpendicular descent to the *wâdî*, are the walls of two (?) buildings made of rows of sand-

⁶⁰⁴ RB 47 (1938), p. 417.

⁶⁰⁵ See above p. 218.

⁶⁰⁶ RB 47 (1938), p. 417; Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, p. 54.

⁶⁰⁷ Sept. 4, 1937; Dalman, PJB 9 (1913), pp. 68 f.; 10 (1914), pp. 49-50; Steuernagel, *Der 'Adschlun*, pp. 287-290; Albright, *Bulletin* 35, pp. 12-13; de Vaux, RB 47 (1938), pp. 411-13; Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, p. 55; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 390-392; Steuernagel, *Wo lag Pnuel*, JPOS VIII (1928), pp. 203-213; Abel II, p. 406.

stone (?) blocks, with small stones between the rows to make them fairly even. This building would seem to be no earlier than the Byzantine, and no later than the mediaeval Arabic period. We were able to examine it only from the distance, and just before nightfall. The entire top of the mound seems at one time to have been surrounded by a wall, with the strongest fortifications on the s. w., practically the only approachable side. There is some evidence that the upper n. and s. sides of the hill were terraced. On the top of the hill, and on its steep upper slopes, numerous EI I-II sherds of all types were found. It may be noted that Albright assigns the earliest sherds to be found to Late Bronze and EI I. We believe if he had seen more EI sites in Transjordan he would have assigned all the sherds to EI I-II, because the EI I period in Transjordan begins earlier than in Palestine.⁶⁰⁸ There were also some fine and some coarse early Roman sherds, including pieces of sigillata, and in addition some Byzantine sherds. Our examination of de Vaux's sherds, which he generously put at our disposal, revealed no EB-MB sherds.⁶⁰⁹ Below the wall on the s. w. side, about 2 m. above a small outspur, is an artificial opening leading into a cave. The opening is 2.50 m. high, and one metre wide at the bottom. We did not enter into the tunnel, whose main passageway leads to several galleries and chambers. The best description of its interior thus far has been given by de Vaux.⁶¹⁰ He regards it as possible that the gradually rising galleries may lead to steps which mount to the top of the hill.

Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbiyeh is the larger of the two sites, and it too is situated on a natural mound. It too is almost completely surrounded by the Wādī Zerqā, being connected only at its n. n. e. end by a narrow land-bridge to the hillside beyond it. The e. side is very steep, and on its w. and s. s. w. sides the hill rises steeply in three great terraces above a walled-in, level, roughly triangular area to the top, which is roughly circular in shape. We did not measure it, but according to Steuernagel it is about 225 m. in diameter.⁶¹¹ The flat top was once strongly fortified by a great outer wall, parts of which are still visible on the s. w. to the n. e. sides. Near the s. e. end of the hill-top are the remains of a large *qaṣr*, and immediately beyond it to the s. e. are some drums of a double, engaged corner column.⁶¹² On the n. e. side were other column remains. On the top and slopes of this site we found several EI I-II sherds, and large numbers of predominantly Hellenistic-Roman sherds, dating mainly between the first century B. C. and the first century A. D. There were also a few distinctive, fine, thin, typical Nabataean painted sherds. This and Jerash are the only sites thus far where any Nabataean sherds have been

⁶⁰⁸ *Bulletin* 35, p. 12; 65, p. 29; see below p. 240.

⁶⁰⁹ RB 47 (1938), p. 412.

⁶¹⁰ RB 47 (1938), p. 412.

⁶¹¹ Steuernagel, p. 288.

⁶¹² Steuernagel, p. 288, fig. 53.

found north of the Mâdebâ line.⁶¹³ There were also several early Byzantine sherds. We regard it as likely that the EI I-II sherds from Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbîyeh originated from Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqîyeh, and that the Roman-Byzantine sherds on the latter site came from Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbîyeh. In other words, we have only one EI I-II site, namely Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqîyeh. There can therefore be no substance to the identification of the Tulûl edh-Dhahab by Dalman with Maḥanaim. The suggestion made by Merrill and repeated by Albright that Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqîyeh may be identified with Penuel seems to us to be the more likely one.⁶¹⁴ Steuernagel is mistaken in his assertion that there is no direct road leading from Burmā to the Tulûl edh-Dhahab and down to the Ghôr, which would pass by the Tulûl edh-Dhahab. There are several important tracks which lead to the Tulûl edh-Dhahab from Burmā, and thence to the Ghôr. The reasons Steuernagel gives for identifying "tell el-emrāmeḥ" with Penuel are hardly valid.⁶¹⁵ That there was a Roman settlement there, and a dolmen field nearby, proves absolutely nothing with regard to the presence of an EI I-II site there. We have as yet had no opportunity to examine the site, and indeed it is not impossible that traces of an EI I-II settlement may be found there, but a Biblical site cannot be determined by such logic as Steuernagel employs to prove its presence. Indeed, it is high time that this type of site-identification were completely abandoned. The position of Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqîyeh was a most important one. It commands the gateway leading via the Wādī Zerqā into the Jordan valley, which is visible from it. The inhabitants of the site probably supported themselves by the cultivation of the nearby slopes and the available patches along the banks of the Zerqā, which here flows very swiftly, and must have profited from, and participated in, the caravan traffic that passed by it.

Near the top of the n. slope leading up in broken stages to the top of the hilly plateau-land on the n. side of the Zerqā, is a large, fairly flat-topped, almost completely isolated hill, on which is an ancient site. The hill-top with its site is known as ed-Deir (346). The fairly flat hill-top has only one comparatively easy approach, namely at its n. e. corner. On the n. side of this hill is the Wādī Hadāleh (?), on the e. side the Wādī Abū Qantarāh, and on the w. side the Wādī Zamār. The s. side breaks down steeply in stages to the Zerqā below it, where to the s. w.-s. s. w Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbîyeh is visible. Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqîyeh is hidden from view by an intervening hill. In a straight line ed-Deir is somewhat more than a kilometre removed from the Tulûl edh-Dhahab. From ed-Deir, looking to the west,

⁶¹³ See above pp. 139-40.

⁶¹⁴ See above n. 607.

⁶¹⁵ Steuernagel, JPOS VIII (1928), pp. 208-210; cf. Albright, *Bulletin* 35, p. 12.

one can see a large part of the Ghôr, dotted with several *tulûl*, with the Zergâ twisting its way across it to the deeper cleft of the Jordan river bed. The hill-top of ed-Deir slopes somewhat from north to south, and again from east to west. About half way across the n.-s. width of the hill-top near the s. end is a great wall, which twists its way from the e. to the w. end of the hill-top in serpentine fashion. Below its base, the n. side of the hill-top represents an area which evidently already in ancient times was cleared of stones, and put under cultivation. It is cultivated also today. The top of this great wall, which in a way served also as a great terrace wall, is about 9-10 m. above the main n. part of the hill-top. The s. end of the hill-top is on a higher level, and in places almost reaches the present top of this great cross-wall. Near its s. end this part of the hill-top begins to slope s. and s. w. very sharply. This section s. of the wall may have originally been devoted to vine, or particularly to olive-tree cultivation, even as many of the hill-sides between this place and Burmâ are now thickly planted to olive-trees. The inhabitants of the Tulûl edh-Dhahab must have cultivated hillsides such as these. The wall is too massive for a mere terrace wall, but the other sides of the hill are not walled, so it cannot be very well for defensive purposes, unless indeed the other walls, enclosing perhaps the cultivated area, have been completely swept away. The wall which is between 4.50 and 5.00 m. wide, is oriented w. s. w. by e. n. e., except at its ends, which are oriented w.-e., and measures about 190 m. long. At the e. end of the wall, some of its large stone blocks may be seen. They measure on the average .90 by .50 by .25 m. At the very e. end, on the s. side of the wall, parts of the rows of the stones forming the wall may still be seen, with some smaller stones between the larger ones. We are at a loss to explain the exact purpose of the wall. On either side of it were found a few Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Just when the wall was built is impossible to say.

About 3.5 km. e. n. e.-n. e. of Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqîyeh is Umm Tell⁶¹⁶ (347), on 'Arqûb Umm Tell, which Albright was the first to discover.⁶¹⁷ Umm Tell is on the top of an almost completely isolated hill on the edge of the broken plateau overlooking the Zergâ from the north. Only on its n. side is the hill connected by a land-saddle to the hillside beyond it. Along the w. side of the hill, running finally into the Wâdî Zergâ, is a small *wâdî*, the name of which we did not ascertain. On the e. side is the Wâdî Umm Tell, which also bends around the n. e. side. The s. side descends steeply in anciently terraced and cultivated stages along its upper part, to the Wâdî Zergâ below it. A large outer wall once completely encompassed the fairly flat top, and parts of this

⁶¹⁶ Sept. 5, 1938.

⁶¹⁷ *Bulletin* 35, p. 12.

wall are still visible. The long, narrow hill-top is oriented approximately s. w.-n. e., and measures about 210 by 80 m. in its greatest dimensions. Where visible, the wall appears to be 2.5 m. thick. At the s. w. end are the ruins of a tower about 9.50 m. square, and there are several other small ruined buildings at the upper w. center of the site. There must have been a tower at the n. end of the site, but all traces of it have disappeared. On the top and outer slopes of the site was found a small quantity of EB IV-MB I sherds.

For the sake of comparative completeness in the listing of EB IV-MB I and EI I-II sites in the part of the es-Salt region which we ourselves have not examined, we list herewith those sites visited by de Vaux and Benoit on which evidently unmistakable ceramic data were found. About 5 km. s. s. w. of es-Salt is Kh. Baṭnah (219), where "some Iron Age sherds" were found.⁶¹⁸ About 2.5 km. to the n. e.-n. n. e. is Kh. Jazzir (221), where sherds of Iron I and Iron II were found.⁶¹⁹ About a kilometre to the e.-e. n. e. is Kh. 'Enab (222), where in addition to Hellenistic and Byzantine sherds, there were sherds of EI I-II.⁶²⁰ Less than a kilometre to the s. e.-s. s. e. is Kh. Khandaq (220), where sherds belonging to the end of EB and the beginning of MB, and more numerous sherds of EI I-II were found.⁶²¹ About 3 km. west of Şuweileh is Kh. Erḥah (226), where EI I-II sherds were found, among others.⁶²² Three km. n. w.-n. n. w. of es-Salt is Kh. Nebī Yūsha' (284), where there was found a small number of sherds, several of which belonged possibly to the end of EB and the beginning of MB (?), and others certainly to EI.⁶²³ Two km. to the s. w. is et-Tell (223), where sherds were found constituting "une série continue du Fer moyen au Byzantine."⁶²⁴ Less than a kilometre to the w.-w. s. w. is Kh. Umm Yanbūteh (223a), where there were sherds from the end of EB to the beginning of MB.⁶²⁵ Seven km. north of es-Salt is Kh. Zei (285), where among the predominant Roman and Byzantine sherds some EI I-II sherds were found.⁶²⁶ Less than 5 km. to the n. n. w. is the village of Sebeiḥī (302). Somewhat more than a kilometre to the w. n. w. is Tell Ḥejāj (303), where sherds were found belonging to transition EB-MB, EI I-II, and down to the Hellenistic period.⁶²⁷ At Kh. el-'Azidiyeh (224), about 5 km. n. e. of es-Salt, de Vaux reports finding "un peu de la fin du Fer," among later sherds, especially Arabic.⁶²⁸ At Kh. Abū Tîneh (225), about 4.5 km. w. n. w. of Tell Şafût, and 3 km. s. e. of 'Azidiyeh, de Vaux reports finding several sherds belonging to the end of EB and the beginning of MB, among Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic sherds.⁶²⁹ About 2.5 km. w. s. w.

⁶¹⁸ RB 47 (1938), p. 404.

⁶¹⁹ RB 47, p. 405.

⁶²⁰ RB 47, p. 405.

⁶²¹ RB 47, p. 406.

⁶²² RB 47, p. 407.

⁶²³ RB 47, p. 408.

⁶²⁴ RB 47, p. 408.

⁶²⁵ RB 47, p. 408.

⁶²⁶ RB 47, p. 410.

⁶²⁷ RB 47, p. 411.

⁶²⁸ RB 47, p. 413.

⁶²⁹ RB 47, p. 414.

of Kh. Jel'ad is Kh. Umm el-'Amad (286), where de Vaux reports a few sherds of EI I, among more numerous Byzantine and Arabic sherds.⁶³⁰ About 1.5 km. e.-e. n. e. of Tell Şafûţ is Kh. Umm 'Oseij (229), where de Vaux reports several sherds from EI I, besides later sherds.⁶³¹

Numerous sites were examined also on the n. side of the Zerqā, in what is the southernmost part of North Gilead. Less than a kilometre n. w. of Umm Tell is Khasheibeh (348), a small, completely destroyed site, with only some wall foundations showing among the debris. In addition to a small number of early Byzantine, and some mediaeval painted and glazed Arabic sherds, was a small quantity of EI I-II sherds. Albright had previously visited the site and reported the presence of EI I-II sherds.⁶³²

About a kilometre n. e.-e. n. e. is Kh. Ruwaiseh (350), situated on a rise near the top of the slope below the rolling, broken, wooded plateau above it. This is a completely destroyed site, above anciently terraced fields, with a number of oak trees growing now among the large limestone blocks. A small quantity of EI I-II sherds was found, in addition to some Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The outlines of Umm Tell below to the s.-s. s. w. are clearly visible from this site. About 1.25 km. to the w.-w. n. w. is Kh. el-Furwân (349), on the slope of a hill above the level of Kh. er-Ruwiseh, and above Kh. el-Khasheibeh. It is a small, completely destroyed site. All of the recognizable sherds found there were painted and glazed mediaeval Arabic. In the distance below this site, ed-Deir may be seen to the s. w.-s. s. w., and below it Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbiyeh.

A kilometre and a half to the n. w. of Furwân, among the numerous oak and evergreen trees which dot this entire section of the 'Ajlûn and enable one even today for long stretches to ride horseback under leafy shade, is Mughâret el-Wardeh (351). The caves known by this name are a short distance west of a nondescript point known as Mazâr el-Ĥeneiġi, and are located in a small depression of reddish brown earth. They are ancient abandoned iron mines, entered by three separate shafts. They lead into the bowels of the earth in n., then n. e., e., and w. directions. We did not penetrate beyond the entrance of the main shaft, which was being used as a grain storehouse. According to the description given by Schumacher,⁶³³ the main shaft is 3 m. wide in its narrowest points, and from 1-3 m. high. At other points it widens and becomes more than 8 m. high, the roof being supported by natural rock pillars, probably similar to those we discovered at the copper mine of Umm el-'Amad in

⁶³⁰ RB 47, p. 416.

⁶³¹ RB 47, p. 421.

⁶³² *Bulletin* 35, p. 12.

⁶³³ Steuernagel, *Der 'Adschlun*, p. 286; ZDPV 33 (1910), p. 22; Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, p. 22.

southern Transjordan.⁶³⁴ The vaulted roof of the e. shaft is 7-8 m. high and is supported by natural pillars, left in position when the iron-ore was cut away. These iron mines have never yet been completely explored. They seem to be quite rich, and in ancient times were extensively worked. No pottery was found by the shafts to indicate when the mines were used. The ores were evidently transported elsewhere for smelting. We found no slag heaps or traces of furnaces in the vicinity. The nearest site where slag was found, indicating that smelting operations had been carried on, was, as we have seen above,⁶³⁵ at Dhaharet Abū Trâb, which is about 10 km. to the s. e.-e. s. e., on the s. side of the Zerqā.

About 4.50 km. w.-w. s. w. of Burmā is Rujm el-Beidā⁶³⁶ (Rujm Umm 'îsā) (352), on the top of a hill overlooking from the north the descent to the Wādī Zerqā. This hill is actually situated about half way down between the very top of the broken plateau and the Zerqā. The Wādī Hûneh passes the e. side of the hill. There is a small *wādī* on the w. side. A large part of the Ghôr is visible from the site. Below the n. side is a spring, the name of which we did not ascertain. The hillsides were anciently terraced, both sides of the Wādī Hûneh indeed being thus protected in the distant past. These terraces are cultivated today. The rough hill-top is also terraced at its s. end. There are some traces of walls which at one time probably encompassed the top of the hill, which on its n. side is connected with the wooded highland beyond it. There are practically no other ancient remains on the hilltop except some sherds, and a small *rujm* at the n. end, representing the remains of a tower, about 7 m. square. At the n. w. end of this *rujm* are two scrub oak trees. This type of tree, and olive trees, are to be found in large numbers on the neighboring hillsides and on the broken, hilly plateau above it. A small quantity of EB IV-MB I sherds was found, most of them being MB I. There were also some Roman sherds of about the first century A. D. Less than a kilometre n. w. of Rujm el-Beidā, about half-way between it and the top of the hilly plateau above it, is Kh. el-Jâmi'ah⁶³⁷ (353), a fairly large, completely destroyed site. There are some Byzantine, but predominantly mediaeval Arabic sherds. To the n. e.-n. n. e. of Rujm el-Beidā is el-Hûneh (354), a large, completely destroyed site on both sides of the upper part of the Wādī el-Hûneh, and below 'Ain el-Hûneh. Some Roman and Byzantine sherds were found, but most of the sherds were mediaeval Arabic; there were also some fairly modern ones. The *wādī* slopes were anciently terraced. There are several cisterns and cave-cisterns to be seen, and the remains of some Roman and Byzantine tombs. No EI I-II or earlier sherds were found, but it is difficult

⁶³⁴ ANNUAL XV, pp. 89-92.

⁶³⁵ See p. 225.

⁶³⁶ *Bulletin* 68, p. 20.

⁶³⁷ *Steuernagel*, p. 287.

to believe that an EI I-II site did not exist there. In fact, at many of the sites where we found no pre-Roman sherds it is entirely possible that there were nevertheless earlier settlements, all traces of which, including sherds, having disappeared or escaped our attention. Where we did find EI I-II sherds in this 'Ajlûn district, they were only few in number. The larger quantities of sherds belonged to later periods. In this wooded area, which in the past was much more heavily wooded than now, the possibilities of places of settlement were even more limited than in open areas. In all of this wooded, hilly area we found not a single site where EI I-II sherds predominated. The explanation that offers itself is that in the thickly wooded hill-country, where farming was restricted to small areas cut out of the forests and to *wâdî* slopes which were less thickly forested than the hilly uplands, settlements in all periods were compelled to locate themselves by springs and the few open spaces which could be cultivated. Thus later Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sites seem almost invariably to have been super-imposed upon earlier EI I-II sites, resulting frequently, we imagine, in the complete wiping out of all EI I-II remains. In other districts, it often occurs that from the Roman period on, settlements would be located on completely new sites, distinct from adjacent EI I-II sites, as may be illustrated by the relationship of Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbiyeh to Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqiyyeh. In this connection, it may also be noted that the wooded 'Ajlûn district is on the whole very poor for agricultural purposes, and trees are the best crop it yields. This fact, too, limited the possibility of new locations for ancient, as it does for modern, settlements, and necessitated the building of a new site on the same location as the previous one. Nevertheless, because of the gaps in the periods of ancient settlement which apparently prevail in the s. part of the 'Ajlûn in the same manner as in the rest of Transjordan which we have thus far explored, there are no real artificial mounds, *tulûl*, to be found. The limited agricultural possibilities of the wooded 'Ajlûn district were better understood by the ancient inhabitants of the land than by their modern successors, who seem bent on felling all the trees for charcoal. The spaces cleared today, usually rocky and often on slopes, are ploughed and planted to grain, and within a couple of years the rains ruin the newly opened areas, whose soil has no longer anything to hold it in place. Except for the forested areas which have been declared public domains, the process of deforestation and consequent absolute ruining of the land is going on at such a rapid rate that it will soon be as eroded and worthless as much of the already completely deforested hill-country in this region.

Two km. s. w. of Burmā is Kh. el-Fuwârah (355). It is situated on a cultivated, upland slope overlooking the Wâdî Zerqā, and is on the w. side of

the Wādī Fuwārah, which descends to the Zerqā. It is a small, completely destroyed site. Immediately above the site to the north is 'Ain Fuwārah. Several oak trees are growing among the ruins, and the adjacent hillsides still contain numerous trees. There were some Roman and Byzantine sherds found among the ruins, but predominantly mediaeval Arabic. On a hill-top immediately north of Burmā with its strong springs, is Kh. 'Illiyet Qarqôsh⁶³⁸ (356). At the very pinnacle is a small ruined modern house, standing among the remains of earlier buildings, of which, however, only fallen stones are left. It is actually built over the massive foundations of an earlier structure, which, to judge from the size of the blocks alone, is probably to be assigned to the EI I-II period. The hill was anciently terraced with large, rude, limestone blocks, and is cultivated in places today. A number of oak trees are growing on it. We found numerous mediaeval and modern Arabic sherds, a small number of Byzantine sherds, and after a careful search, a small quantity of EI sherds, most of which belonged to EI I, and some to EI II. Albright, who was the first to establish the ceramic history of the site, reports: "The earliest pottery found belonged to the transition from Late Bronze to EI I, while the latest dated from the transition to EI II. This site was thus occupied from before 1200 (at the latest), to after 900. Very similar to 'Illiyet Qarqôsh is the EI site of Kh. Khasheibeh."⁶³⁹ It is interesting that Albright's conclusions for the history of the early settlement of this one site agree with the conclusions we have arrived at for the history of settlement in the Early Iron Age in all the districts of Transjordan we have thus far explored, namely Edom, Moab, South Gilead, 'Ammôn, and the s. part of North Gilead. We have maintained from the ceramic evidence gained that the Early Iron Age in Transjordan begins where Late Bronze in Palestine ends and that it thus precedes the beginning of EI I in Palestine.⁶⁴⁰ In all of the areas in Transjordan we have explored, there is no Late Bronze. We have found some Bronze Age sites by the Wādī Zerqā whose history spans EB IV-MB II A, but otherwise there are no sites with MB II or MB II B sherds, with some negligible exceptions.⁶⁴¹ The situation is different in most of North Gilead.⁶⁴²

To the e. n. e.-n. e. of Burmā is the village of el-Jazzâzah. On top of the hill immediately w. n. w. above Jazzâzah is Kh. el-Qabû (360), in a thickly wooded region, next to 'Ain el-Qidrâ. It is a completely destroyed Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic site, numerous sherds from these periods being found. To the n. e.-e. n. e. of it, on the top of the plateau in a wooded district, is

⁶³⁸ Steuernagel, p. 284.

⁶³⁹ *Bulletin* 35, p. 12.

⁶⁴⁰ See above p. 233, n. 608.

⁶⁴¹ *Bulletin* 68, p. 21; *ANNUAL* XIV, p. 82.

⁶⁴² *Bulletin* 68, p. 21.

Kh. ed-Delâ'ai (361), with the same history, to judge from the sherds found there. Two km. to the n. e. of it, on the w. side of the Jerash-Šuweileh road, is the completely destroyed, ploughed-over site called Kh. el-Jemleh (363), which also has the same history. About 2 km. to the n. w. of Kh. el-Qabû is Kh. en-Nejder (362), where the same types of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found.

From Kh. el-Qabû one commands a view over Kh. el-Hemtâ (358), about 1.5 km. below it to the s. e. It is situated on a small cultivated plain or shelf, which overlooks the Zerqā, irrigated by 'Ain Qidrā, 'Ain Şefâr, and 'Ain Umm Lakhşā, whose waters flow into the Wādī Hemtā.⁶⁴³ In addition, the modern village which has grown up on the site enjoys the waters of 'Ain el-Hemtā. It is probably the most fertile spot in all this southernmost district of North Gilead, west of the Jerash road, that we have been discussing. On the hillside above Hemtā to the s. w. are Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Ancient Hemtā is a great, mixed heap of ruins and modern debris. Parts of the walls, however, of a massive building-complex which once existed there are still preserved, namely the general line of the wall on the s. side, and especially the s. e. corner, built of the same type of massive blocks⁶⁴⁴ which we found in EI sites in the Beq'ah, for instance. Although we did not, during the course of our short visit at Hemtā, find any EI I-II sherds, we have no hesitation in assigning the building to the EI I-II period. Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found among the debris, and it is probable that a prolonged search would still reveal the presence of some EI I-II sherds. In the neighborhood of Hemtā are numerous carob trees. A half a kilometre to the n. n. e. of Hemtā is Kh. el-Ḥaiyeh⁶⁴⁵ (359), consisting of the ruins of a small building on a ridge. A small number of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds was found there.

A kilometre and a half s. w.-w. s. w. of Hemtā and below it is Kh. el-'Elamûn⁶⁴⁶ (357), situated in a small valley, above the strong 'Ain el-'Elamûn, whose waters flow into a small *birkeh*. There were several large millstones by the spring. There is a large grove of olive trees in the vicinity. It is a completely ruined site, yielding Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds. It is a site which we would imagine must have been inhabited also in the Early Iron Age. A number of cisterns, tombs, and caves were visible by the site. In addition to the olive trees there are large stands of scrub oak on the neighboring hillsides.

About 1.5 km. w. n. w.-n. w. of the modern settlement of el-Husseiniyeh is

⁶⁴³ Steuernagel, p. 282.

⁶⁴⁵ Steuernagel, p. 282.

⁶⁴⁴ Steuernagel, pp. 282-3.

⁶⁴⁶ Steuernagel, p. 283.

Kh. es-Suweidîyeh (364), above 'Ain Suweidîyeh. It is a completely destroyed Byzantine-mediaeval Arabic site.- About 1.5 km. to the n. w. of it is Kh. el-Ḥeneish (365), with 'Ain el-Ḥeneish on its n. e. side. On the s. side it overlooks the Wādî es-Serābîs. Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. One house seems to have been rebuilt in the mediaeval Arabic period out of stones from early Byzantine buildings. Above the entrance to this house on the n. side is a stone with a Byzantine cross. The district round about this site is still fairly heavily wooded, but much of it is given over to vine culture. The small village of Serābîs (366) is less than a kilometre beyond this site to the e. n. e., and 3 km. beyond it to the n. e.-e. n. e. is the tiny settlement of Ḥazâr (370). Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found in these last two mentioned sites. In passing it may be noted that the inhabitants of Husseinîyeh have to go a long distance to get their water. When we arrived there one morning at 9 o'clock there was hardly a drop of water in the village. Yet on the slopes below the village were numerous ancient cisterns, which, had they been cleaned and repaired, would easily have supplied the wants of the village for water. About 1.5 km. e. n. e.-n. e. of el-Husseinîyeh, on top of a high hill, is Kh. el-Ḥawaiyeh (367), a small, completely destroyed site, where Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. On the e. side of the hill is a large cave. On a high knoll, immediately to the e. n. e. is Kh. el-Eqra' (368), with the same history. To the n. n. e. of it is Râs el-Eqra' (369), the top of the highest hill in this still more or less forested region. The upper slopes of this hill are ploughed. At the e. end of the hill is a small, round, limestone tower, by which some Byzantine sherds were found. One commands a magnificent view of the entire countryside from this hill-top.

In the light of the preceding discussion, it is now possible to discuss the boundaries of Moab, 'Ammôn, and the area of Sîḥôn's kingdom in South Gilead, in so far as they have not already been dealt with above. The interesting verses in Num. 21, 26-30 afford much information with regard to boundaries. They tell us that after the "first" (?) king of the Moabites had been defeated by Sîḥôn, king of the Amorites, the Amorite king made Ḥeshbôn⁶⁴⁷ his place of residence. He had conquered or perhaps reconquered⁶⁴⁸ that part of Moabite territory which extended from Ḥeshbôn as far as the Arnôn. "The plains of Moab" referred to in Numbers 22, 1 and the "fields of Moab" referred to in other verses, although used only in post-exilic passages or in-

⁶⁴⁷ ANNUAL XIV, p. 6.

⁶⁴⁸ Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte u. Ethnographie Syriens u. Palästinas*, pp. 39-41; Böhl, *Kanaanäer u. Hebräer*, pp. 57-63; Gressmann, *Mose u. seine Zeit*, pp. 305-310.

sections,⁶⁴⁹ seem to reflect an original Moabite control, although they no longer indicate actual Moabite ownership, of the district north of the Dead Sea and facing Jericho.⁶⁵⁰ For general purposes, the w. half of the original n. boundary of Moab may be identified with the Wādī Ḥesbân, which after several changes of name runs into the Jordan, and its e. half with the irregular line marked by Qaṣr el-ʿÂl⁶⁵¹ and Kh. er-Rufaiseh.⁶⁵² Particularly Qaṣr el-ʿÂl, on its high eminence, visible for miles round about, and strongly built, lends itself as an important frontier post on the n. border of the original limits of the first kingdom of Moab.

Sihôn's victory over the Moabites occurred prior to the advent of the Israelites and their successful war of aggression against him. From Sihôn's conquest we learn (a) that the s. boundary of his kingdom was prior to the conquest marked by the n. side of the Wādī Ḥesbân, and a parallel eastward line, and (b) that at the time of the advent of the Israelites the n. boundary of Moab was marked by the Naḥal Arnôn, the modern Wādī Mōjib.⁶⁵³ Among the most important cities of the territory which the Moabites lost to Sihôn were Ḥeshbôn in the north, and Dībôn in the south.⁶⁵⁴ Henceforth this territory remained for Moab *terra irredenta*, which it was destined to regain and lose several times throughout the course of the centuries-long struggle with Israel for the possession of the fertile, broken plateau between the Wādī Ḥesbân and the Wādī Mōjib.

The s. and larger half of Moab between the Wādī el-Mōjib and the Wādī Ḥesâ remained in the control of the Moabites, who fortified their frontiers, as we have seen,⁶⁵⁵ so strongly, that the Israelites were compelled to go around their kingdom,⁶⁵⁶ and break their way into the s. part of the kingdom of Sihôn, the former n. part of the kingdom of Moab. Indeed we are explicitly informed that Israel trekked through the wilderness, went around the lands of Edom and Moab, and entering from the east (and north) of Moab (as it was

⁶⁴⁹ Glueck, "The Theophany of the God of Sinai," *JAOS* 56 (1936), p. 467; cf. also Isa. 15 and Jeremiah 48 which reflect original extreme limits of Moabite territory.

⁶⁵⁰ That the n. w. corner of Moab originally touched the Jordan probably almost as far north as opposite Jericho may be deduced also from the description of Sihôn's territory as extending "from the Arnon to the Jabbok and from the wilderness to the Jordan"—Judges 11, 22 and elsewhere. That the n. Moabite territory originally abutted the Jordan is indicated also from Judges 3, 28 where it refers to the fords across the Jordan which the Moabites had recaptured from the Israelites, and lost again to them in the days of Eglon and Ehud. The Moabites had recaptured the fords they originally controlled before their defeat by Sihôn, and his defeat by Israel.

⁶⁵¹ *ANNUAL* XIV, p. 6; see above pp. 101-3.

⁶⁵⁴ Numbers 21, 30.

⁶⁵² *ANNUAL* XIV, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁵⁵ See above pp. 73. 79. 88-9.

⁶⁵³ Numbers 21, 26; Judges 11, 18-19.

⁶⁵⁶ Judges 11, 17-18.

then constituted), encamped on the far (north) side of the Arnôn, and did not enter into the territory of Moab, because the Arnôn was the n. boundary of Moab.⁶⁵⁷ Defeating the forces of Sihôn, the Israelites took possession not only of the n. part of the Moabite territory which he had captured, but of his entire kingdom, whose boundaries extended from the Arnôn to the Jabbok and from the wilderness to the Jordan.⁶⁵⁸ They were, however, not to remain in undisturbed possession of the former Moabite territory. Whenever opportunity presented itself, the Moabites pressed northward into their lost province. Thus out of the pattern of one story in Judges,⁶⁵⁹ we learn that they had reconquered it for 18 years under their king Eglon, subjugating the Israelites resident there, until driven out by Ehud and his Ephraimites. The Bible informs us of another reconquest of their former territory by the Moabites and their expulsion again by the Israelite forces led by "Jerubaal and Bedan (?) and Jephthah and Samuel."⁶⁶⁰ From about the 11th century on, at least through the reign of Solomon, all of Moab seems to have been placed under the domination of Israel.⁶⁶¹ Even after the division of the kingdom, Moab remained subject to Israel, first regaining her independence at the very end of the reign of Ahab, and maintaining it thereafter despite the disastrous invasion of s. Moab by Joram of Israel, Jehoshaphat of Judah, and the "king" of Edom, with the purpose of reducing Moab once more to her former status of dependency upon Israel. The fearful sacrificing of the crown prince of Moab on the wall of Qîr-hâreshet, when the invaders stood at the gates of the city, is brought into association with the retreat of the confederate forces.⁶⁶² According to the Mesha stele,⁶⁶³ which the king of Moab had prepared to commemorate the regaining of the independence of Moab at the end of the reign of Ahab, Mesha was able to restore the boundaries of Moab to the limits which had prevailed at the very beginning of the Moabite kingdom, when Sihôn had detached the part north of the Arnôn, and incorporated it into his own kingdom. Mâdeba, Nebo, Jahaz, sites mentioned among others in this stele, reflect the northern extent of Mesha's kingdom which corresponded with that of his remote predecessor, the "first" king of Moab. The Moabite kingdom stretched once more in complete independence from the Wâdî Ḥesâ to the Wâdî Ḥeshbân, from the Naḥal Zered to the Naḥal Ḥeshbôn. The *terra irre-denta* had been finally redeemed. The restoration of greater Moab marked the height of its development. Its later history was marked by a downward

⁶⁵⁷ Judges 11, 18.⁶⁵⁹ Judges 3, 12-30.⁶⁵⁸ Judges 11, 22.⁶⁶⁰ I Samuel 12, 9. 11.⁶⁶¹ I Samuel 14, 47; 22, 3-4; II Samuel 8, 12; I Chron. 18, 2; I Kings 11, 1. 7. 23.⁶⁶² II Kings 3; Glueck, *The Boundaries of Edom*, HUCA XI, pp. 149-150.⁶⁶³ Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 6 ed., 1933, pp. 459-461.

development, with the apparent end of Moab as an independent kingdom in the 6th century B. C. Later on, Moab, even as Edom, was incorporated into the Nabataean kingdom.

We have already seen that prior to the Amorite conquest of the Moabites by the forces of Sihôn, the s. border of the Amorite kingdom may be identified with the n. side of the Wâdî Hesbân, and a parallel line leading eastward to the desert. By means of this conquest, Sihôn's territory was extended as far south as the Arnôn, Heshbôn becoming his capital. We read in Numbers 21, 26: *For Heshbôn became the (capital)—city of Sihôn, king of the Amorites, he having fought with the first(?) king of the Moabites, and captured all that part of his territory from him which extends southward as far as the Arnôn.*⁶⁶⁴ Indeed the general extent of the kingdom of Sihôn can be clearly delimited. The s. boundary was the Arnôn, the n. was the Jabbok, the w. was the e. side of the n. half of the Dead Sea and the Jordan. It is particularly the e. boundary about which there is some doubt. Apparently the clearest definition of the perhaps idealized boundaries of the kingdom of Sihôn is in Judges 11, 22, according to which it extended: *From the Arnon to the Yabbôq, and from the wilderness to the Jordan.* It is clear from this passage that the Jabbok, which throughout much of its length parallels the Arnon, forms an easily recognizable n. boundary. It is easy to believe that the e. boundary of Sihôn's territory could be delimited by the desert, as in the instances of Moab and Edom. As a matter of fact, however, this e. boundary is not, as we shall see, clearly defined by the wilderness. Furthermore, the identification of the w. boundary with the Jordan is not sufficiently explicit. Actually, Sihôn also controlled a large corridor consisting of the entire e. side of the Jordan, extending from the s. end of the e. side of the Sea of Kinnereth to the e. side of the n. half of the Dead Sea, as we learn and can infer from Joshua 12, 3.⁶⁶⁵

A glance at the map of Transjordan will reveal, even to those not familiar with the topography from personal acquaintance, that at least a third of the Jabbok, namely the first third, does not flow generally from e.-w., parallel thus to the Arnon, but from s.-n., to n. n. w. This northward course of the Jabbok which stretches almost from 'Ammân to Zerqā to Sukhneh, and n. w. for a considerable distance beyond it, is very close to the desert immediately east of it. Does then the description of the e. boundary of Sihôn's kingdom with the *wilderness* coincide with the e. line of the Jabbok, the modern Wâdî Zerqā, or does it first commence east of this line? In Joshua 12, 2, we find a

⁶⁶⁴ Cf. Numbers 21, 27-30.

⁶⁶⁵ Cf. Dt. 3, 17; Numbers 21, 20; Noth, ZDPV 58, p. 238; Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, p. 52.

description of the boundaries of the kingdom of Sîhôn, which at once clarifies and complicates our problem. It is stated that the Israelites conquered: *Sîhôn, king of the Amorites, who dwell in Heshbôn, ruling from 'Arô'êr which is on the edge of the plateau overlooking the Naḥal Arnôn,—with his boundary line commencing in the middle of the actual naḥal bed—, over the (south) half of Gilead as far as the Naḥal Yabbôq, the boundary of the Benî 'Ammôn.*⁶⁶⁶ However late the account dealing with the kings in Trans- and Cisjordan in Joshua 12 may be,⁶⁶⁷ the boundary descriptions contained there can hardly be figments of the imagination, but represent an approximately correct historical memory of actual fact. How then can the Jabbok in the one instance be the n. boundary of Sîhôn's territory,⁶⁶⁸ and still be the boundary of the Ammonite kingdom? The explanation is simple. *The Naḥal Yabbôq, the boundary of the Benî 'Ammôn,* refers then to that part of the Jabbok which runs n.-s. approximately, and formed thus the boundary between the kingdom of Sîhôn and the Ammonite kingdom east of it, being thus the e. boundary of Sîhôn's kingdom. That the boundary between Sîhôn's kingdom and that of the Ammonites was so far to the east is reflected in Judges 11, 22, according to which, as we have seen, Sîhôn's territory extended *from the Arnôn to the Yabbôq, and from the wilderness to the Jordan*. The historical memory reflected in this passage has it rather vaguely that the e. side of Sîhôn's kingdom was bounded by the desert. As a matter of fact, the desert begins not very far east of the s.-n. part of the Naḥal Yabbôq identified in Joshua 12, 2, with the (west) boundary of the kingdom of 'Ammôn. Reminiscent of this passage is Joshua 13, 10, according to which the Amorite king, enthroned in Heshbôn, ruled as far (east) as the territory of the Benî 'Ammôn.⁶⁶⁹

The question arises as to the extent of the Ammonite kingdom during the reign of Sîhôn, king of the Amorites, before his territory was taken over by the Israelites. We have already seen that the s.-n. extent of the Naḥal Yabbôq marked the w. boundary of the original Ammonite kingdom, which was ap-

⁶⁶⁶ Cf. Dt. 3, 16 b. We consider the references to "the city in the midst of the *wâdî*" and "the city which is in the *wâdî*" in II Sam. 24, 5 and Dt. 2, 36 to be mistaken references to the description in Dt. 3, 16 a β and Joshua 12, 2. Noth, ZDPV 58, p. 237, errs in thinking that because the name of the "city in the *wâdî*" is not mentioned in II Sam. 24, 5 and Dt. 2, 36, these give only a theoretical boundary fixation. This is a *non sequitur*, because it is assumed by Biblical writers, that just as, for boundary purposes, when one speaks of the n. side of the Arnôn, one refers to the entire slope of the *wâdî* from the very top to the middle of the tiny stream at the bottom which can practically be stepped across, so when referring to 'Arô'êr in boundary questions, one assumes that its limits extend down to the very bottom of the *wâdî*.

⁶⁶⁷ Noth, p. 45.

⁶⁶⁸ Judges 11, 22.

⁶⁶⁹ Cf. Numbers 21, 24.

parently the smallest and weakest of the EI kingdoms in Transjordan we have thus far considered. The original Ammonite kingdom consisted then probably of the small, fairly fertile strip on the e. side of the s.-n. stretch of the Wādī Zerqā, and extended to the desert. In this narrow strip, there were located during the EI I-II period such sites as Kh. en-Nimrah,⁶⁷⁰ Kh. Sukhneh, Kh. el-Breitāwī, er-Reseifāwī, Kh. el-Jeish, esh-Shīh, el-Jidi, el-Musaffar, and above all 'Ammān; south of 'Ammān were also several important sites which may have belonged to the Ammonite kingdom, such as eṣ-Ṣweiwīnā and Rujm Wasiyeh. It was this boundary of the Ammonite kingdom that the Israelites reached when they defeated the army of Sīhōn. Beyond it the Israelite forces did not pass. We read in Numbers 21, 24: *And Israel smote him (Sīhōn) by the edge of the sword and took possession of his land from the Arnōn to the Yabbôq, (as far as the Benī 'Ammôn, because strong was) the boundary of the Benī 'Ammôn.*⁶⁷¹ The fact that the Israelite forces which conquered Sīhōn's army stopped at the e. boundary of this kingdom, which bordered on the original territory of the Ammonites, is reflected in Deuteronomy 2, 19: *And when you approach the Benī 'Ammôn, do not oppress them, or fight them, for I shall not give to you of their land for an inheritance, but I shall give it as an inheritance to the children of Lôt.* And in Deuteronomy 2, 37, much the same statement is repeated: *However, to the land of the Benī 'Ammôn you shall not come near, all the slope of the Naḥal Yabbôq and the hill cities. . . .* Here again we believe is a reference to the s.-n. extension of the Jabbok. The *hill-cities* must refer to the sites we have mentioned above, situated in the broken upland district on the e. side of the Wādī Zerqā. The exact n. and s. limits of the original Ammonite kingdom cannot be determined, but are approximately limited by the n. and s. extent of the sites mentioned. The kingdom's most important city was 'Ammān, the Biblical Rabbath 'Ammôn, with its very strong spring. One wonders if the 'Arô'ēr, situated opposite Rabbath 'Ammôn,⁶⁷² might not possibly be identified with eṣ-Ṣweiwīnā, if indeed, it does not mean the 'Arô'ēr on the Naḥal Arnōn. It seems probable that although the Jabbok formed before and after Jephthah's time the official w. boundary of 'Ammôn, its territory, particularly in the 'Ammān district, extended somewhat westward, and included at least the *malfûf* towers in this district, which would seem to be integrated into the defence system centering upon 'Ammān.

⁶⁷⁰ See index for these sites.

⁶⁷¹ The words in the parenthesis we believe to be the result of a dittography, the sentence reading properly if Joshua 12, 2 b^v *and as far as the Naḥal Yabbôq, the border of the Benī 'Ammôn* is held in mind.

⁶⁷² Joshua 13, 25; Abel II, p. 250.

The territory which Israel captured from Sîhôn remained uncontested in Israel's possession for three centuries, according to the Biblical records. The Ammonites, however, at the end of this approximate period, taking advantage of the pressure against the Israelites by the Philistines from the west, swept beyond the bounds of their small and hungry little kingdom, and oppressed Israel in the territory it had captured from the Amorites. They even crossed the Jordan and raided Judah, Benjamin and Ephraim in w. Palestine.⁶⁷³ This condition had lasted for (pattern number?) 18 years,⁶⁷⁴ before Israel was able to gather its forces and repel the invaders. The Israelite forces were put under the command of Jephthah a Gileadite, a native thus of the oppressed territory. In the peace negotiations which he undertook with the Ammonite king, claims and counterclaims were made with regard to the former kingdom of Sîhôn, which are of particular interest for the purpose of fixing ancient boundaries. The Ammonite claim for the complete peaceful surrender of the territory *from the Arnôn to the Yabbôq to the Jordan*,⁶⁷⁵ is answered by the assertion that the Israelites had taken only the former territory of the Amorites under Sîhôn, which extended *from the Arnôn to the Yabbôq and from the wilderness to the Jordan*,⁶⁷⁶ and, by implication, that they had never taken any Ammonite territory. The Israelite answer is further elaborated by the statement that *when Israel dwelt in Heshbôn and its surrounding towns, and in 'Arô'êr and its surrounding towns, and in all cities overlooking the Arnôn*, no attempt was made by the Ammonites during the intervening 300 years to redeem what was now claimed to be its territory.⁶⁷⁷ Jephthah in his answer refers to the n. and s. limits of the n. part of greater Moab as represented by the important cities of Heshbôn and 'Arô'êr, (elsewhere by Heshbôn and Dîbôn,⁶⁷⁸ only a few kilometres north of 'Arô'êr), a territory for the return of which even the Moabite king who might have raised a well based demand, made no claim when it was occupied by the Israelites.⁶⁷⁹ Upon the refusal of the Ammonites to surrender their gains, the peace negotiations were broken off, and Jephthah attacked and defeated the Ammonites, as we learn from Judges 11, 33: *And he smote them from 'Arô'êr as far as Minnâth, even twenty cities as far as Ābēl-kerāmîm*. It is evident from this verse that the Ammonites had occupied 'Arô'êr. Although we do not know where Minnith is, Eusebius⁶⁸⁰ identifies it with a village called *Maavith*, 4 Roman miles from Heshbôn on the road to Philadelphia. Ābēl-kerāmîm is located by Eusebius⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷³ Judges 10, 7-10.

⁶⁷⁴ Judges 10, 8.

⁶⁷⁵ Judges 11, 13.

⁶⁷⁶ Judges 11, 22.

⁶⁷⁷ Judges 11, 26.

⁶⁷⁸ Numbers 21, 30.

⁶⁷⁹ Judges, 11, 25.

⁶⁸⁰ *Onomastikon* 132, 1, ed. Klostermann; Abel II, p. 388.

⁶⁸¹ *Onomastikon* 32, 15.

6 miles from Philadelphia, although he does not say in what direction it is from Philadelphia. To judge from the name, which means "district of vineyards," Ābēl-keramīm must be west and not east of 'Ammân. Abel⁶⁸² would identify it with Nā'ûr, which we consider a happy suggestion, because grapes are grown in the Nā'ûr district to this very day. Alt suggests Kh. es-Sûq on the road from 'Ammân to Ḥesbân.⁶⁸³ Whatever the exact locations of these two sites may be, it is clear that they are between Ḥesbân and 'Ammân, and that the 'Arô'ēr mentioned in Judges 11, 26. 33 and Numbers 21, 26, is the 'Arô'ēr overlooking the Naḥal Arnôn. Abel,⁶⁸⁴ Burney,⁶⁸⁵ Moore,⁶⁸⁶ Noth,⁶⁸⁷ and others consider the 'Arô'ēr in Judges 11, 26. 33 or in Judges 11, 33 alone (making text changes in 11, 26, to remove 'Arô'ēr and Arnôn in favor of *Jazer* and *Jordan* on the basis of LXX readings) to be not the 'Arô'ēr overlooking the Arnôn, but the 'Arô'ēr opposite Rabbath 'Ammôn.⁶⁸⁸ The scholars' suggestion and the LXX changes in Judges 11, 26. 33 are based on Joshua 13, 25, according to which 'Arô'ēr is opposite Rabbah. In all events, Noth is correct in pointing out that *opposite* in this verse does not necessarily mean *east of*.⁶⁸⁹ The possibility must be reckoned with that the phrase in Joshua 13, 25b, *as far as 'Arô'ēr which faces Rabbah*, means *from 'Arô'ēr as far as Rabbah*. A somewhat similar phrase is found in I Chron. 5, 8b, where we read: *who dwells in 'Arô'ēr and as far as Nebō and Baal Me'ôn*. Joshua 13, 25b might well be based on Jephthah's victory over the Ammonites as reflected in Judges 11, 33. During the 18 years the Ammonites had oppressed Israel, they apparently established themselves in 'Arô'ēr. The struggle between Israel and 'Ammôn, with the exception of a period of friendship between David and Naḥash, lasted from this time on continuously, with various changes in the fortunes of war.⁶⁹⁰

In a future publication the writer proposes to discuss in detail the settlement of the two and a half tribes in central and northern Transjordan. He would like, however, to deal here with some statements made by Noth in his treatment of the subject.⁶⁹¹ In his discussion of the boundaries of Reuben as given in Joshua 13, 16-21, Noth expresses the opinion that 'Arô'ēr represents the "südöstlicher Eckpunkt" of Reuben's territory, and that "... offen-

⁶⁸² Abel II, pp. 233-34.

⁶⁸³ PJB 1936, p. 112, n. 2.

⁶⁸⁵ Burney, *The Book of Judges*, pp. 320-21.

⁶⁸⁴ Abel II, p. 250.

⁶⁸⁶ Moore, *Judges*, pp. 300-301.

⁶⁸⁷ Noth, ZDPV 58, pp. 236-7. 249, n. 3; Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, pp. 52. 54.

⁶⁸⁸ Joshua 13, 25.

⁶⁸⁹ Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, p. 54.

⁶⁹⁰ I Sam. 11; II Sam. 10-11, 1; 12, 26-31; I Kings 22; II Kings 15, 29; I Chron. 5, 26; II Chron. 20; 27, 5.

⁶⁹¹ Noth, *Die israelitischen Siedlungsgebiete im Ostjordanlande*, ZDPV 58, pp. 230-235.

bar—mit Aroer als nicht einmal genanntem Ausgangspunkt—die Ostgrenze von Süden nach Norden festgelegt mit den beiden auf einer Linie nordwärts von Aroer gelegenen Grenzfixpunkten Medebā und Hesbon . . . mit Hesbon setzt dann ja auch die Ostgrenze von Gad ein.”⁶⁹² Again, while discussing the boundaries of Gad, Noth says with regard to Joshua 13, 26: “Da an erster Stelle Hesbon genannt wird und an vorletzter Stelle Mahanaim, das nach dem Zusammenhang von Gen. 32 jedenfalls am Jabbok wird gesucht werden müssen, handelt es sich hier offensichtlich um die von Süden nach Norden beschriebene Ostgrenze von Gad.”⁶⁹³ Just why Noth fixes upon ‘Arô’ēr, Mâdebā, Ḥeshbôn, and Mahanaim as being situated on the e. boundaries of Reuben and Gad is not understandable. It seems to the writer to be a completely arbitrary deduction. It is clear, according to important Biblical passages, that Reuben and Gad between them (and subsequently Gad alone)⁶⁹⁴ fell heir to the territory formerly belonging to the kingdom of Sîhôn.⁶⁹⁵ Noth would probably not dream of fixing the e. boundary of Sîhôn’s kingdom on the line of ‘Arô’ēr and Ḥeshbôn, because, for instance, in Joshua 12, 2, the king who dwelt in Ḥeshbôn is described as ruling from ‘Arô’ēr as far as the Naḥal Yabbôq,⁶⁹⁶ or because it is stated in Num. 21, 30 that among the cities which the Moabites lost to Sîhôn were Ḥeshbôn and Mâdebā in the north, and Dîbôn in the south. ‘Arô’ēr, Dîbôn, Mâdebā, Ḥeshbôn, and Mahanaim were, in a word, no more on the e. boundary of the territory of Reuben and Gad than they were on the e. boundary of Sîhôn’s kingdom. They represent, rather, important central cities on the fertile plateau lands between the Arnôn and the Yabbôq. This fact is illustrated in Judges 11, 26, where we read of *Ḥeshbôn and its surrounding towns*, and *‘Arô’ēr and its surrounding towns*. They also represent the largest towns near the s. and n. ends of the natural land divisions between the Wâdî Môjib and the Wâdî Ḥeshbân, and between Wâdî Ḥeshbân and the Wâdî Zerqā. A glance at the enclosed Early Iron Age map of central and southern Transjordan will show what a considerable number of EI I-II sites is to be found east of the arbitrary boundary line which Noth draws.⁶⁹⁷ While this fact in itself is no proof against the correctness of his map-making, it becomes decisive when taken together with the above considerations. Furthermore, the e. boundary line that Noth assumes would

⁶⁹² ZDPV 58, pp. 237-8.

⁶⁹³ ZDPV 58, pp. 233-4.

⁶⁹⁴ The fact that Gad is mentioned in the Mesha stele to the exclusion of the tribe of Reuben, which by the 9th century would seem thus to have been incorporated into Gad, has been emphasized recently by Bergman, JPOS XVI, (1936), p. 243; cf. Noth, ZDPV 58, p. 239.

⁶⁹⁵ Joshua 13, 15-21. 23. 24-28; Deut. 3, 16. 17; Judges 11, 22. 26; Gen. 49, 3. 19; Judges 5, 15. 16.

⁶⁹⁶ Joshua 13, 10.

⁶⁹⁷ Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, p. 53.

follow no natural boundaries. In general it may be said that there is no more reason for drawing the e. boundary line of Reuben and Gad from 'Arô'ër through Ḥeshbôn to Maḥanaim, than there would be for placing Dan and Beersheba on the e. boundary of Western Palestine. In each instance, the towns mentioned are the most important settlements at the n. and s. ends of the respective territories. In view of the above remarks, it will be seen that Noth is mistaken also when he says, "Das Gebiet von Gad umfasst zwischen der Breite von Hesbon und dem Jabbok anscheinend im wesentlichen nur den Bereich der zum Jordangraben hinabführenden Täler."⁶⁹⁸

POTTERY

Almost all of the Bronze Age sites south of the Wādī Zerqā have been assigned to EB IV-MB I, between the 23rd and the 20th centuries B. C., although, as will be seen below, this applies only to the bulk of the sherds from these sites; other sherds seem to belong to before EB IV, and some definitely to MB II A. Albright now dates the whole or reconstructed vases from Stratum J of Tell Beit Mirsim to about the 23rd century B. C.⁶⁹⁹ He considers Stratum I as marking a period of transition between Strata J and H, and would date it to about the 22nd century B. C., with a possible extension down into the 21st century B. C.⁷⁰⁰ Wright dates EB IV, the latest phase of EB, to the 23rd-22nd centuries B. C.,⁷⁰¹ and MB I to the 21st-20th centuries B. C.⁷⁰² In accordance with their studies, the writer would change the EB III date used in the first two parts of this study to EB IV, and the end of MB I from the 19th to the 20th century B. C.

Ledge-handles:

There is as yet no generally established nomenclature for ledge-handles. The terms adopted by Engberg and Shipton⁷⁰³ have been modified by Albright⁷⁰⁴ and Wright⁷⁰⁵ and elaborated by Fisher in his forthcoming *Corpus of Palestinian Pottery*. The writer has added a new designation, namely "pushed-up pinch-lapped," in order to provide a classification for a large category. Albright's use of Guy's "envelope-handles" instead of Engberg's and Shipton's "folded" for their second type A (middle of top row, Fig. 5)⁷⁰⁶ is quite acceptable. The writer prefers to classify their first

⁶⁹⁸ Noth, ZDPV 58, p. 234.

⁶⁹⁹ TBM II, p. 13.

⁷⁰⁰ TBM II, p. 14; JPOS XV, p. 220.

⁷⁰¹ PPEB, pp. 78-81; *Bulletin* 71, p. 34.

⁷⁰² *Bulletin* 71, p. 33.

⁷⁰³ NCEB, pp. 13-14.

⁷⁰⁴ TBM II, p. 14.

⁷⁰⁵ PPEB, pp. 93-94.

⁷⁰⁶ NCEB, p. 14.

type A also under "envelope" instead of "folded." Their third type AA might also be classified under "envelope-handles," although with them, Albright, and Wright, the writer has used the term "folded" for it.

Plain ledge-handles:

With regard to this type, Wright notes, "Plain handles so typical of EB I and EB II seem to have died out in EB III, for no typical forms, at least, occur."⁷⁰⁷ "No forms are found in EB IV."⁷⁰⁸ It will be seen from the following list, either that these dicta with regard to the incidence of plain ledge-handles in Western Palestine do not apply to Eastern Palestine, or that it is necessary to date the sites in Eastern Palestine in which they occur to EB I-II, or at least to before EB IV. The writer is, however, by no means convinced that the last word has been said with regard to the correct sequence and dating of ledge-handles in Western Palestine as thus far established. There is, to be sure, no gain-saying the history of ledge-handles at Megiddo, where wavy and scalloped (thumb-indented) and oblique wavy give way to plain, small scalloped, and pushed-up types, before being displaced by the envelope (folded) ledge-handles. It does seem, however, to be a totally unnatural development, though this is admittedly a poor argument. The fact remains that in Eastern Palestine most of the plain ledge-handles were found on sites, the bulk of whose pottery can hardly be dated before EB IV. While this does not prove that the plain ledge-handles in question could not indeed belong to EB I-II, it might indicate that they remained in existence as late as EB IV, despite the evidence to the contrary thus far published from sites in Western Palestine. Only one of the plain ledge-handles listed, namely that from Tell Mustâh, clearly belongs to EB I, to judge from the pottery found with it. It will be seen that the sites with plain ledge-handles discussed in this volume are situated between the Wâdī Môjib and the Wâdī Zerqā. That does not indicate either the extent or frequency of their incidence. In some places they may not have been preserved on the surface; in others they may not have been observed.

Pl. 9: 2

- 6, is covered with a thick red wash (extends diagonally from wall of vessel),
- 14: 2, what appears to be a notch on the right side is a break.
- 16: 2, slightly broken.
- 17: 6, is almost a lug-handle, with a small break on right side; cf. JG V, 35: 16.

Pushed-up ledge-handles:

With regard to this type Wright says, "The pushed-up handle seems to appear in EB Ib, and continues into EB IV during the course of which it

⁷⁰⁷ PPEB, p. 80.

⁷⁰⁸ PPEB, p. 93.

becomes extinct. . . . During the period of this handle (especially during EB III) it is the commonest form. Examples are so numerous that it may be considered as typical of the last phase of EB."⁷⁰⁹ While many of the pushed-up handles found probably belong to EB IV, it would seem that many of them could be dated back at least as far as EB III. The latest date for many of them might well be the 24th century B. C., the approximate date for the transition from EB III to EB IV.⁷¹⁰

Pl. 1: 1, partly broken; cf. ANNUAL XV, pl. 25: 2. 3.

9.

3: 1; cf. 18: 1, broken (upside down).

8, is a fragment of the same type of handle.

4: 2.

9: 3. 4. 5. 7,

are with the rest of the sherds from Tell Mustâḥ to be assigned to EB I;
cf. JG V, 35: 2. 3 to nos. 4. 5.

12: 1. 4.

13: 3; cf. JG V, 35: 2. 3.

To the category of pushed-up ledge-handles may be assigned several which are almost plain, broad ledge-handles, with the exception that at either end, near where the handle was joined to the wall of the vessel, there is a single notch, formed by the edge of the handle being pushed up at this point; cf. ANNUAL XV, pl. 25: 25; JG V, 35: 10.

Pl. 6: 2.

9: 1.

Still another group might be placed under the category of pushed-up ledge-handles, although it might be more correct to describe them as slightly pushed-up or slightly notched handles. It includes sharply notched handles.

Pl. 1: 3, broken, a notch visible on right side.

4.

3: 5.

5: 1. 4.

8: 2, has two sharp notches on its right, intact side.

13: 2.

16: 1, the left side, partly broken, still shows one notch; the right side is sharply notched.

3, (phot. upside down), indentation on right side showing where it was pushed up; on the top side, the resultant lap was pressed down.

⁷⁰⁹ PPEB, p. 94; cf. Albright, TBM II, p. 14.

⁷¹⁰ PPEB, p. 78.

Pinch-lapped ledge-handles:

The designation is Albright's "for a plain handle which in from one to four places (usually two or three) has been pinched out and lapped over."⁷¹¹ There is no arbitrary limit of four for the number of laps, one surmises, which this handle may have. As a type, it was first distinguished by Mme. Marquet-Krause as characteristic of the pottery of the first sanctuary at Ai,⁷¹² and is dated by Wright on the basis of evidence from Jericho to the early part of EB II.⁷¹³ The two examples from Eastern Palestine placed below under this category are somewhat different from what would seem to be the main example cited by Wright,⁷¹⁴ namely that of JG V, 35:7, which as a matter of fact we would place rather under our next category, that of "pushed-up pinch-lapped ledge-handles."

Pl. 12: 2, is a broken handle of the same type as no. 3, from which several of the laps have been chipped off.

3.

These handles may belong to EB II. Even regarding them as late hang-overs, it would hardly seem possible to date them later than EB III, with which dating many of the other sherds found at Kôm Yājûz could be in agreement. The necessity of considering the possibility of late hang-overs seems to be illustrated by the pierced, vertical lug-handle also found at Kôm Yājûz, Pl. 12: 5, on the back of which is a row of indentations. It contains large grits, and is covered with a reddish wash. Had it been found alone, we should have had no hesitation in assigning it to the Chalcolithic period.⁷¹⁵

Pushed-up pinch-lapped ledge-handles:

Although some of the examples of this type can hardly be differentiated from the one reproduced by Wright,⁷¹⁶ which he assigns to EB II, others would seem to belong to the general type of "folded" handles. Folded ledge-handles occur, for instance, in Stratum I at Tell Beit Mirsim, and at Bethel are intermediate between EB IV A and MB I.⁷¹⁷ The history of this type of handle would seem to extend therefore from EB II to MB I, it being probably

⁷¹¹ PPEB, p. 74.

⁷¹² AJA XL, p. 158; *Syria* XVI (1935), p. 345.

⁷¹³ PPEB, pp. 93-94.

⁷¹⁴ PPEB, chart B, Id.

⁷¹⁵ Mallon, *Teleilat Ghassûl*, p. 90, fig. 39: 7. 8; Turville-Petre, *Researches in Pre-historic Galilee*, p. 113, Pl. 29: E. F.; Fisher, *Corpus of Palestinian Pottery* (to be published) Pl. 1: 3-5; TF II, pl. XXXV.

⁷¹⁶ PPEB, chart B, Id.

⁷¹⁷ TBM II, p. 14.

particularly common during the 22nd century B.C. This handle is first pushed up, and then pinched out and lapped down.

Pl. 1: 7. 12; cf. JG V, 35: 7.

10. 11, are of the type probably to be assigned to the 22nd century B.C.

3: 2, may be an early example of this handle; it was pushed up in four places, and the resulting projections further pinched out and lapped down.

5: 3, is much like JG V, 35: 7 (PPEB, chart B, Id), the only difference being that the central laps are nearer the wall of the vessel.

6.

6: 1. 5. 6.

14: 5, remnant of handle below slightly profiled rim of pot, with wet-smoothed, brownish-buff surface.

6; cf. ANNUAL XV, pl. 25 B: 20.

17: 5. 7. 8.

Pushed-up scalloped ledge-handles:

The designation is Albright's. This type seems to belong to EB IV A, and to the transition stage between it and MB I.⁷¹⁸ Illustrations are to be found in TF II, pl. 36: 1 from Site H.⁷¹⁹ An excellent example was found by Mr. J. H. Iliffe at 'Ain Nejel; see fig. 29. To him and the Director of the Palestine Department of Antiquities thanks are expressed for permission to reproduce it. No other sherds were found at 'Ain Nejel to help date the handle. While there is a strong resemblance to the scalloped (thumb-indented) ledge-handle illustrated in NCEB, p. 14, fig. 5, the likelihood is that it is to be dated to the period from EB IV to MB I.

Pl. 1: 2.

6; cf. TBM I A, pl. 20: 1.

8.

2: 11, vestigial handle, traces of burnished red slip on rim and inner surface.

4: 1, is another vestigial handle.

8: 4; cf. handle from 'Ain Nejel, p. 54, fig. 29.

13: 8, traces of burnished red slip on inner and outer surfaces; cf. TBM I A, p. 64, pl. 20: 1.

*Envelope ledge-handles:*⁷²⁰

This type is characteristic of the first phase of MB I and is found in Stratum I at TBM, together with pushed-up scalloped handles.

⁷¹⁸ TBM II, p. 14; PPEB, pp. 79. 80. 94; *Bulletin* 71, p. 33.

⁷¹⁹ Discussing Site H handles, Wright, PPEB p. 79, remarks: "From the folded nature of several of the pushed-up handles, as well as from the stratification of the types at Bethel and Ader, we must conclude that Site H represents . . . the transition between the culture of EB III and that represented by TBM I-H (MB I)."

⁷²⁰ TBM II, p. 14; PPEB, p. 94; *Bulletin* 71, pp. 30. 32. 33.

- Pl. 5: 2, might be classified under "folded" ledge-handles. It is a much worn handle whose edges have been folded over in smaller folds than in the usual envelope handle.

13: 1.

14: 1. 11.

18: 2. 3.

Loop-handles:

The handles covered with creamy slips or washes, some of them burnished in addition,⁷²¹ are to be assigned to MB II A, between 1900-1750, to which period Albright assigns TBM G-F.⁷²²

- Pl. 13: 9, flat oval section, creamy slip, continuously burnished with vertical lines of burnishing.
- 15: 3, flat oval section, creamy white wash.
- 8, flat oval section, white grits, wet-smoothed, reddish buff surface, no later than EB IV.
- 10, flat oval section, creamy brownish slip, continuously burnished on top surface with vertical lines of burnishing.
- 11, from small juglet, continuously burnished reddish-brown slip, narrow band of reddish-brown paint around top of rim.
- 17: 15, small pressed-in loop-handle, red wash, coarse grayish black core, red baked outer surfaces, numerous small and medium sized grey grits. EB I-II; cf. Gezer III, pl. CXLVI: 7; II, p. 161, h; NCEB, type 3. 11.
- 16, flat, wet-smoothed, inner greyish black core enclosed within red baked surfaces. EB I-II.
- 17, flat oval section, thick creamy smoothing around greyish black core, numerous small notches and straw marks. EB I-II.
- 18, flat oval section, three parallel grooves deepened by periodic indentations; cf. PPEB, pp. 61-62; NCEB, p. 27, fig. 9; AJA XXXIX (1935), pp. 327-8, fig. 6: 8. 9. EB I-II.
- 18: 9, flat oval section, reddish buff, wet-smoothed, drab core. MB I(?).

Lug-handles:

- Pl. 1: 5, small, horizontal, rectangular lug-handle, traces of burnished red slip; cf. ANNUAL XV, pl. 25: 4.
- 5: 7, small vertical lug or projection; traces of band (?) face combing; red wash; cf. ANNUAL XV, pl. 25: 18. MB I(?).
- 6: 9, small, horizontal, rounded lug; continuously burnished red slip.
- 10: 1, hole-mouth rim with horizontal lug below rim; thick red wash on outer surface. EB I-II.
- 4, small, fat-bodied, cross-hatch-painted juglet with pierced ear handles; the lines of reddish-brown paint are almost all worn off. EB Ib-II; cf. PPEB, p. 61.
- 18: 5, pierced, vertical lug-handle. EB IV-MB I; cf. PPEB, p. 99, Form D, VIc; TBM I, pl. 3: 22. 23; 4: 37; 5: 17. 18; TBM I A, pl. 3: 10; 20: 17. 19.

⁷²¹ TBM I, pp. 15. 16; pl. 6: 1-7.

⁷²² TBM II, pp. 24-25.

Rims of "hole-mouth" jars:

These "hole-mouth" jars occur at TBM in Stratum J ⁷²³ and in Stratum I, ⁷²⁴ and most of the hole-mouth rims found can be assigned to EB IV or to the transition to MB I. Others are earlier, as indicated by the finds at Tell Mustâh, which can be assigned to EB I-II.

- Pl. 7: 3, wet-smoothed, reddish-buff surface; numerous white grits.
 10: 1. 2. 8.
 12: 8. 10.
 14: 4.
 8, with scalloping on outer edge of rim.
 15: 1, notches below rim on wet-smoothed, light brownish buff surface; cf. NCEB, chart 15 A.
 16: 6. 13. 14.
 17: 1.

Plain rims:

- Pl. 3: 7, shallow groove under outer edge of rim of small hand-made bowl; reddish-brown slip on outer surface almost continuously burnished with irregular horizontal lines of burnishing; traces of slip on inner surface.
 9, also from hand-made bowl; red slip, discontinuously burnished with oblique lines of burnishing; traces of burnished slip also on inner surface.
 8: 3, from large, crude pot, wet-smoothed, reddish-buff surface.
 14: 12, from small bowl, wet-smoothed, reddish-buff surfaces, white grits; cf. 7: 10.

Flaring rims:

- Pl. 3: 12, slightly flaring rim of rounded jar, with wet-smoothed, light reddish-buff surfaces. Most of this type found probably belongs to EB IV-MB I; cf. NCEB, fig. 14, P. 4482.
 6: 10, from high-shouldered, rounded jug, with upturned and out-turned rim, the top of which scalloped.
 8: 7, See Pl. 3: 12.
 10: 3, slightly out-turned rim, with wide groove below inner edge; red-buff, wet-smoothed surface.
 7, traces of reddish-brown wash on outer surface.
 11: 3, collared, out-turned rim, red wash; cf. AJA XXXIX, Pl. XXXVIII: 8.
 12: 6, see Pl. 3: 12.
 13: 5, greyish white wash over both surfaces; red baked over grey core; numerous fine white grits; cf. TBM I, p. 5; pls. 1: 22; 2: 16 a.
 14: 3, light greenish-grey, wet-smoothed surface.
 17: 2, see Pl. 3: 12.

Slightly flaring or out-turned rims:

- Pl. 3: 6, from deep bowl(?), faint traces of red burnished slip.
 11, from small, rounded jar, brownish-buff, wet-smoothed surface.

⁷²³ TBM I, p. 5, pl. 1: 1-4. 18.

⁷²⁴ TBM I, p. 11, pl. 3: 33-35.

- 6: 8, same type as 7: 11; rim broken, two parallel bands of face combing, traces of burnished slip between them.
- 12, band reddish-brown paint on inner surface of out-turned rim; outer surface covered with reddish-brown wash, and horizontally face combed below groove at bottom of rim.
- 7: 4, from thin-walled bowl; horizontally burnished dark brown slip. EB IV.
- 11, band of reddish wash on inner surface of out-turned rim; band of face-combing on outer shoulder; traces of reddish-brown wash on outer surface. MB I; cf. ANNUAL XV, p. 124; pl. 25: 17; PPEB, p. 91, n. 134; *Bulletin* 71, fig. 2.
- 17: 3, traces of reddish-brown burnished slip on outer surface; cf. TBM I, pl. 2: 9. 10. 16 a. EB IV.
- 19, with fine horizontal lines of face-combing. MB I.
- 18: 7. 8, from thin-walled jug, wet-smoothed, brownish-buff surface.

Inverted rims:

Most of the inverted rims found can be assigned to EB IV-MB I; PPEB, pp. 74.80; chart D, IIh; TBM I, pp. 5. 6. fig. 1; pl. 1: 24. 27; 3: 18-20. 24. 25; TBM I A, p. 62, pl. 1: 9; ANNUAL XV, pp. 123-4; pl. 25: 7. 8. 15.

- Pl. 2: 1, traces of burnished red slip on inner surface.
- 2, red, cracked slip, almost continuously burnished with horizontal and oblique lines of burnishing, on rim and inner and outer surfaces; EB IV; cf. TBM I, p. 5.
- 3, red slip on rim and inside surface, burnished with irregular oblique lines of burnishing; there is a wide band of red wash on outer surface immediately below edge of rim.
- 4, traces of red slip on rim and inner surface, horizontally line burnished.
- 3: 10, looking at inside surface, slightly inverted rim of shallow bowl, wet-smoothed, brownish-buff surfaces, white grits.
- 14, at outer surface and top of rim of shallow bowl, with traces of light brown slip on inner surface, continuously burnished with irregular horizontal lines.
- 4: 8, from bowl with slightly inverted rim, slip and burnishing as pl. 4: 14; raised rope molding below outer edge of rim; cf. TBM I, p. 6, pl. 1: 21; TF II, pl. XXXII. EB IV.
- 13, profiled, slightly inverted rim, with raised molded band immediately below outer edge of rim; brownish buff outer surface obliquely face-combed; cf. TF II, pl. XXXII-XXXIII. EB IV.
- 14, from shallow bowl with red slip on inner and outer surfaces, discontinuously burnished with more or less horizontal and partly oblique lines of burnishing; the top of the slightly inverted rim is also burnished. EB IV; cf. TBM I A, p. 62, pl. 20: 35; ANNUAL XV, p. 123, pl. 25: 15.
- 5: 10, reddish-buff surface; cf. TBM I, p. 11, pl. 3: 24. 25.
- 6: 3, see below under incised decorations.
- 4, see below under incised decorations.
- 7: 8, from shallow bowl, traces of discontinuously burnished, light reddish-brown slip on inner and outer surfaces. EB IV; cf. PPEB, chart D, IIh; TBM I, p. 6, fig. 1; ANNUAL XV, pl. 25: 15.

- 9, traces of burnished reddish-brown slip on inner and outer surfaces; cf. ANNUAL XV, pl. 25: 8.
- 10: 6, from inverted rim bowl, traces of slip on inner and outer surfaces. EB I; cf. AJA XXXIX, pl. XXXVIII: 15. 16; PPEB, chart A, IIa; cf. below 11:13 under "burnished sherds."
- 12: 7, reddish-brown slip on inner and outer surfaces, horizontal line burnishing still visible on rim.
- 13: 8, see above under pushed-up scalloped handles.
- 10, from bowl with slightly inverted rim, red slip on inner and outer surfaces, raised scalloped band below outer edge of rim; TBM I, p. 6, fig. 1, fourth sherd from left in second row; PPEB, p. 81; TF II, pl. XXXII; XL: 67. 68. EB IV.
- 13, creamy white slip on inner and outer surfaces, continuously horizontally burnished. MB II A.
- 14: 9, looking at inside surface of inverted rim.
- 15: 2, looking at inside surface of slightly inverted rim of plain bowl, wet-smoothed, red buff surface over grey core, white grits. EB IV.
- 5, from plain bowl. MB I-II; groove below outer edge of rim.
- 12, from shallow, inverted rim platter, traces reddish-brown slip on inside surface. EB IV.
- 13, from plain bowl with inturned rim, two grooves below outer edge of rim, light brownish buff, wet-smoothed surfaces. MB I-II.
- 16: 10, from shallow, inverted rim platter, with red slip on inner surface. EB IV.
- 17: 4, traces of horizontal line burnishing on inner and outer wet-smoothed(?) reddish-brown surfaces.
- 18: 6, red slip, horizontally line burnished on inner and outer surfaces. EB IV.

Inverted, ribbed rims:

While the extent of this type of rim ranges in the main from EB IV to MB I, many of the sherds of this type found in Eastern Palestine would seem to belong to the first rather than to the last part of this period; cf. PPEB, chart D, IIg¹; TBM I, pl. 5: 26. 33; I A, pl. 21: 12. 16. 19. 28. 29. 33.

- Pl. 2: 5, traces of red slip on inner and outer surfaces.
- 4: 4, light brownish buff surface over grey core, dark grits.
- 7, reddish-buff outer surface; traces of red slip on inner surface, numerous white and grey grits.
- 10, much the same as no. 7.
- 5: 8, brownish buff surfaces, white grits.
- 9, red burnished slip on inner surface, traces of it on outer surface.
- 7: 5, traces of red slip on inner and outer surfaces.
- 6, is grooved rather than ribbed below outer edge of rim; reddish-brown burnished slip on inner and outer surfaces; cf. TBM I A, pl. 21: 26.
- 7, traces of burnished red slip on inner and outer surfaces.
- 12, traces of reddish-brown burnished slip on inner and outer surfaces.
- 13, same as above.
- 14, much the same as no. 6.

Incised or indented decorations on rims and sherds:

Such decorations are common in EB IV and continue down into MB II. Most of those found can be assigned to EB IV, with many dating to the first phase of MB I; cf. PPEB, p. 81, chart D, VIIIe; TF II, pl. XXXII-XXXIII; JG V, pl. XXXII; NCEB, fig. 14, P. 4124.

Notches:

Pl. 2: 13, row of oblique notches below outer edge of plain, inverted rim; wet-smoothed, light brownish buff inner and outer surfaces.

5: 11.

6: 15; cf. TBM I A, pl. 20: 16. 17. 29.

13: 12, raised, notched band just below outer slightly scalloped edge of beveled rim; on the inner and outer surfaces is a creamy brown, slightly burnished slip, composed of the same clay as the body of the sherd, but unlike it almost completely free of grits. For comparison with scalloped outer edge of rim cf. TBM I A, pl. 20: 1; TF II, pl. XXXII; ANNUAL XV, p. 124, pl. 25: 14.

15: 1, see under "hole-mouth" rims.

16: 15, is the plain rim of a hand-made bowl, with a layer of well levigated yellowish-brown clay over a core of the same material mixed with fine white grits; on the top of the rim is a band of reddish-brown paint; an oblique band of notches, made with a bird quill(?) extends below the outer edge of the rim; delicate face-combing. If found by itself, the sherd might be considered chalcolithic, although the context in which it was found seems to indicate that it is later; cf. Mallon, *Teleilat Ghassûl*, pp. 93. 115. 119. fig. 41: 8; 60; 62.

17: 11.

Scalloped rims and bands:

Pl. 2: 6. 7. 9. 10. 12,

the last two being plain rims of large pots.

4: 5. 6. 13,

the last being a slightly inverted rim, raised molded band below outer edge of rim, outer surface obliquely face-combed.

5: 13, (upside down), raised scalloped band.

6: 3, slightly inverted rim, traces of thick red slip on inner surface, wide, raised scalloped band below outer edge of rim.

4, slightly inverted and profiled rim, with raised scalloped band below slightly scalloped outer edge of rim; cf. pl. 13: 12; ANNUAL XV, pl. 25: 14.

7, plain rim from pot, with raised scalloped band on outer edge of rim; reddish-brown, wet-smoothed surfaces, coarse texture, large grits; cf. TF II, pl. XXXII; TBM I, pl. 2: 12.

10, upturned, and slightly out-turned rim, the top of which is scalloped.

11, raised scalloped band; cf. ANNUAL XV, pl. 25: 6.

8: 6. 9.

13: 6; cf. ANNUAL XV, pl. 25: 21; below 17: 14; 18: 10.

- 10, from bowl with slightly inverted rim, brownish-red burnished slip on inner and outer surfaces, with raised scalloped, lapped band below outer edge of rim.
- 14: 8, plain rim of "hole-mouth" jar, outer edge of rim scalloped (what seems to be a wavy line at bottom of sherd is a break).
- 10. 13, raised scalloped bands.
- 16: 4, (upside down), raised scalloped band.
- 17: 10, cf. 13: 6.
- 14, raised scalloped band.
- 18: 10, cf. 13: 6; 17: 14.

Rope-molding: cf. TBM I, pl. 1: 5; 2: 12.

- Pl. 4: 8, see above under "inverted rims."
- 17: 9, raised rope-band on face-combed sherd.
- 12.

Face-combing; cf. ANNUAL XV, p. 124, n. 369:

- Pl. 2: 8, profile of flat-bottomed pot, the sides of which are obliquely face-combed.
- 14. 16, coarse face-combing of a type characteristic of EB IV; cf. TBM I A, p. 60, pl. 19: 1.
- 4: 11, red wash.
- 13, see under "scalloped rims."
- 15, flat-bottomed pot, with coarse strokes of face-combing.
- 5: 15, as above.
- 6: 8. 12, see above under "slightly flaring rims."
- 13. 14.
- 13: not photographed, from Kh. Abū Zebnā, is an EB IV, coarse face-combed sherd, similar, e.g., to pl. 6: 14.
- 14: 7, (upside down), flat based pot with oblique face-combing.
- 14, (to be viewed sideways), horizontal face-combing.
- 16: 5, as above.
- 17: 9, see above under "rope-molding."
- 19, see above under "slightly flaring rims."

Flat bases; cf. TBM I, pl. 3: 41. 42; TBM I A, pl. 1: 1. 4-6. 8; 2.

- Pl. 2: 15, fragment of flat-based bowl, continuously burnished red slip on inner and outer surfaces.
- 3: 3, reddish-buff, wet-smoothed surface, from "hole-mouth" jar.
- 4: 15, see above under "face-combing."
- 5: 14; 15, see above under "face-combing."
- 7: 1, from flat-based pot, reddish-brown slip with irregular, horizontal lines of burnishing.
- 2, from "hole-mouth" jar, with traces of red burnished slip.
- 8: 1, flat base of coarse pot, with wet-smoothed, brownish buff surface.
- 11: 2, looking sideways, fine, flat-based jug, covered with reddish-brown slip, lattice- or net-burnished. EB I; cf. PPEB, p. 96; chart IVa (A).

- 5, from "hole-mouth" jar, traces of red wash on outer surface. EB I.
- 8, from well-made jug, with slightly concave base, traces of reddish-brown slip on outer surface.
- 12: 9, from thin-walled, flat-based pot, dark reddish-brown slip almost continuously vertically burnished on outer surface.
- 14: 7, see above under "face-combing."
- 16: 12, from hard-baked, flat-based jug, with wet-smoothed, light grey surface; cf. TBM I, pl. 4: 25; 5: 22.
- 18: 4, from thin-walled, face-combed, flat-based pot.

Other bases:

- Pl. 11: 1, from coarse jug with disc base, brownish-buff, wet-smoothed surface.
- 4, looking sideways at half section of lid(?).
- 15: 7. 9, see below under "slips, washes."

Painted pottery:

With several exceptions which will be indicated below, the painted sherds listed are characteristic of Strata G-F, particularly G, at TBM. Albright dates these Strata to 1900-1750 B. C., and assigns them to MB II A.⁷²⁵

- Pl. 8: 5, from large pot; thick, creamy, cracked slip on outer surface painted over with slightly oblique, parallel lines of reddish-brown paint; there are some traces of slip and paint also on the inner surface. It would seem possible to assign this sherd to EB I; cf. PPEB, p. 60; also TBM I, pl. 1: 9. 30; 2: 3. 6. 7. 16, which, however, would seem to be later.
- 10: 4, small, fat-bodied, cross-hatch painted, pierced ear juglet; most of the paint is worn off, but clear traces of the pattern can be seen under the handles. EB I B—II; PPEB, p. 61.
- 11: 7, large, crossed bands of light reddish-brown paint on light, brownish-buff surface; PPEB, p. 60. EB I A.
- 9, sherd of band-painted juglet. EB I.
- 11, band of reddish-brown paint on light brownish-buff-surface. EB I.
- 13: 11, wavy band of reddish-brown paint between two parallel horizontal bands of the same color, over creamy white wash; the core of the sherd is light grey between the inner and outer surfaces baked through to a light reddish-brown color.
- 14: 15, creamy slip horizontally line burnished, overlaid with wavy bands of reddish-brown paint between horizontal parallel bands of similar color; light grey core between red baked inner and outer surfaces.
- 15: 4, two horizontal bands of reddish-brown paint, with a wavy band of the same color between them, over a burnished cream slip.
- 6, has a hard-baked grey core, with a small amount of grits, sandwiched between the red-baked inner and outer surfaces. Over the outer surface is a thick, creamy white wash, burnished, and overlaid with a horizontal line of reddish-brown paint, below which is a horizontal row of separate blobs of

⁷²⁵ TBM I A, p. 7, pl. 22: 1-10. 29; II, pp. 24-25.

paint of the same color, below which in turn, in all probability, there was another horizontal painted band.

- 17: 13, from bowl with burnished, creamy white slip on inner and outer surfaces, over which on the outer surface are two parallel bands of reddish-brown paint, with a wavy band of similar color between them.

Slips, washes:

In addition to the sherds with painting over creamy slips or washes mentioned above, a number of sherds also belonging to MB II A were found with similar slips or washes but without painted designs. Some of them may have belonged to vessels which were in part also decorated with painted designs.

- Pl. 13: 7, is covered on both sides with a creamy white slip, radially burnished on outer surface and perhaps originally also on inner surface; probably belongs to a carinated bowl with disc base of a type occurring in Stratum G at TBM; cf. TBM I, p. 14, pl. 6: 47. 49. 50; 41: 1.
 9, see under "loop-handles."
 13, see under "inverted rims."
 15: 3, see under "loop-handles."
 7, 9, are ring bases of carinated(?) bowls, well made, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white wash, which in the instance of no. 9, was, in addition, radially burnished on the inner surface. While the ring base of no. 9 has a beveled edge reminiscent of types which occur in LB (TBM I, p. 50, pl. 21: 23-26. 28-31), it and also no. 7 have an excellence of workmanship and an absence of wheel-marks, which together with the rich creamy white wash make them contemporary with other sherds with creamy slip or wash from the same site which we have assigned to MB II A.
 10, see above under "loop-handles."

Burnished sherds:

Under this group will be mentioned only those sherds which have not been previously listed.

- Pl. 3: 13, from a jug, almost free of grits, with a thick, brilliant red slip, discontinuously burnished. EB IV.
 4: 9, from a bowl, thick, cracked, continuously burnished bright red slip on outer surface, with traces of similar slip on inner surface; drilled hole near upper right edge. EB IV.
 5: 5, (viewed sideways), reddish-brown slip, slightly oblique lines of burnishing. EB IV.
 12, (viewed sideways), thick red slip, cracked, almost continuously burnished with irregular horizontal lines of burnishing.
 11: 6, looking at outer surface of rim of shallow, inverted rim bowl; outer surface of rim covered with a highly polished, continuously burnished red slip; no traces at present on inner surface. EB I.
 10, dark reddish-brown slip, cracked, continuously burnished.

Spout:

Pl. 10: 5, flaring spout, plain, wet-smoothed, reddish-buff surface; cf. PPEB, chart A, IX. EB I.

Miscellaneous:

Pl. 3: 4, broken stone mace-head.

4: 3, 12, have, respectively, a hole drilled on each side; no. 12 has a continuously burnished, brownish-red slip on the outer surface. A similar type of whorl (?) was found at Kh. Iskander.

8: 8, a well worn, smoothed sherd, which may have been used as a burnishing tool.

16: 11, ibex, incised before baking, on wall of large jar, with wet-smoothed, light brownish-buff surface, tiny white and grey grits; cf. Gezer II, p. 17, fig. 218.

Flints:

Pl. 16: 7-9, double edged flints; no. 9 has serrated edges; cf. TBM II, p. 13: 18, pl. 45: 18-24. They would seem to be no later than EB IV. A double edged flint and a "fan-scraper" were found at Tell Mustâh; cf. pl. 19a; the "fan-scraper" is Ghassulian in type.

It will be seen from the above lists of pottery finds that the 20th century B. C. may be accepted as the *terminus ad quem* for the EB pottery south of the Wâdî Zerqâ. This date is in agreement with the one suggested by Albright⁷²⁶ and Wright.⁷²⁷ There is evidence, however, as the above lists show, that the *terminus a quo* must be pushed back to before the 23rd century B. C.⁷²⁸ A number of ledge-handles and other sherds, it has been suggested, aside from those found at Tell Mustâh, might possibly be assigned to EB I-II, if comparisons with pottery from Western Palestine are valid. There seems to be no *a priori* reason why the history of the Early Bronze Age in Eastern Palestine should not parallel that of Western Palestine, and the actual finds seem to bear out this supposition. The only distinctions that can be made seem to be those resulting from the use of local materials. It remains true that the bulk of the Early Bronze Age pottery south of the Wâdî Zerqâ may be dated between the 23rd and 20th centuries B. C. This period is the one most adequately attested to by surface finds.⁷²⁹ For the present however, to put it conservatively, and omitting the Jordan River valley from consideration, the Early Bronze Age history of the areas of Eastern Palestine under discussion must be dated from before the 23rd century to the 20th century B. C., or to put it into round figures, from before 2200 B. C. to 1900 B. C. The gap in the history of sedentary civilization extends as before from the end of MB I to EI I, that is, it includes the Middle Bronze II

⁷²⁶ JPOS 15, p. 220.

⁷²⁷ *Bulletin* 71, p. 34.

⁷²⁸ *Bulletin* 65, p. 29.

⁷²⁹ *Bulletin* 68, pp. 20-21.

and Late Bronze Ages. This gap can now be roughly dated from 1900 to 1300 B. C., a fact, as we have already mentioned above, which has been corroborated by the independent archaeological survey of the es-Salt region carried out by Père de Vaux and Père Benoit. It has also been corroborated by Albright's excavations at Ader^{729a} and Crowfoot's excavations at Bālū'ah,^{729b} and by the significant silence of the Amarna tablets and the Egyptian lists of conquered towns with regard to the areas and period in question.^{729c} During the period of the gap between approximately 1900 and 1300 B. C., central and southern Transjordan seem to have been peopled almost exclusively by Bedū, who left no traces of their sojourn behind them. They probably furnished part of the stock of the Semites who established an agricultural civilization at the beginning of the Early Iron Age in the regions which developed into the kingdoms of Edom, Moab, 'Ammôn, and the Amorite kingdom of Siḥôn.

That the history of sedentary occupation in North Gilead and in Ḥaurân will not show the gap between the 20th and 13th centuries B. C. which has been attested in South Gilead, 'Ammôn, Moab and Edom, has already been revealed by Albright's explorations there in 1925 and 1929. Among other sites in these regions he has listed the EB-MB, EI, and later site of Sheikh Sa'ad (Qarnaim), the EB-EI Tell 'Ashtarah ('Ashtaroth), the EB, LB, Hellenistic, and later site of Tell Ash'arî, the EB-EI and later site of Der'ah, the EB-LB site of Tell Shihâb on the Yarmûk, the EB site of el-Ḥammeh,⁷³⁰ the EB-EI site of Irbid (Betharbeel), the LB site of Tell Shi'r, the LB and EI I site of Tell Khatt or Tell Kefr Yûbâ, the probably EB-LB site of Tell Ḥam, the EB-EI II site of Tell Ḥuṣn, and the EB-EI II site of Tell Ya'mûn.⁷³¹ Due to the great advance in ceramic identification since 1929, brought about in large part by the contributions of Albright himself, he would probably give more precise datings for these sites today were he to reexamine his sherd collections. Beyond all question of doubt, most of these sites are on the n. part of the Bronze Age route, followed, as Albright was the first to point out in explanation of Gen. 14, 5-6, by the Kings of the East, on their march through the entire length of Eastern Palestine as far south as El-paran.⁷³²

We have fixed the Wādī Zerqā as the boundary line of the northernmost extent of the Bronze Age sites, whose history came to a sudden, apparently catastrophic end in the 20th century B. C., and whose territories after that were

^{729a} *Bulletin* 53, pp. 13-18.

^{729b} *ANNUAL* XIV, pp. 55-56; *PEFQS* 1934, pp. 76-84.

^{729c} *ANNUAL* XIV, pp. 1. 82; XV, p. 1. 138; *Bulletin* 68, p. 21, n. 21; *ZAW* 1938, p. 228.

⁷³⁰ *AJA* XXXIX, pp. 321 f.; *PPEB*, pp. 61-62; *Bulletin* 19, p. 17.

⁷³¹ *Bulletin* 19, pp. 14-17; 35, pp. 10-12; 68, p. 21, n. 21.

⁷³² *APB*, ed. 3, p. 142; *ANNUAL* XIV, p. 3; XV, p. 138; see above, n. 262.

peopled by tent-dwellers till the beginning of the Early Iron Age. With the exception of Kh. Abū Zebnā, which is a few kilometres south of the Wādī Zerqā, and Kh. Şuwārī north of it, which is immediately on the s. side of the Wādī Zerqā, the only other sites found which contained Bronze Age pottery later than that of the 20th century B. C. were er-Reşeifeh, Tell Janūbeh, and Tell Reheil, all directly on the n. side of the Wādī Zerqā. These are the sites whose latest sherds could be dated to MB II A, between 1900-1750 B. C., and rather to the first than to the last part of that period.⁷³³ But in the 18th century B. C., the history of these sites too comes to an end. Nowhere along the Wādī Zerqā have we found a site whose sherds could be dated between the 18th and the 13th centuries B. C. With the discovery of these five sites, whose main history extends between the 21st and 18th centuries B. C., but some of whose sherds in each instance must be dated to no later than the 23rd-22nd centuries B. C., we are confronted with a new chapter of history. Its fuller understanding requires further exploration north of the Wādī Zerqā.

EI I-II pottery.

The EI I-II pottery of Edom and Moab has already been dealt with at some length⁷³⁴ and can not be gone into again here. Nothing like the same quantities of EI I-II sherds in general and painted pottery in particular were found in 'Ammôn and the n. half of South Gilead as in Edom and Moab. This may be accounted for solely by the more intensive modern occupation and cultivation of the soil in the former as compared with the latter areas. The EI I-II pottery found in 'Ammôn and particularly in the n. half of South Gilead, would alone be sufficient, aside from the impressive ruins of such places for instance as Kh. el-Muḍmâr and Şweiwînā, to indicate a degree of civilized development in no way inferior to the advanced EI I-II civilizations of Edom and Moab. On Pl. 19b: 1-4 are shown painted sherds from el-Mûmanī,⁷³⁵ and no. 5 is from Rujm el-Ḥâwī.⁷³⁶

Pl. 19b: 1, light whitish grey, wet-smoothed surface, parallel, horizontal two and three banded lines of black or very dark brown paint, and traces of white wash between the lines of the lower band.

2, over a brownish-buff, burnished slip is a wide band of reddish-brown paint, below which are two narrow, parallel, horizontal bands of black paint.

3, over a light brownish-buff burnished surface are three parallel, horizontal lines of black paint with bands of white wash between them.

4, rim of an early EI II "hole-mouth" jar; on the outside surface, and extend-

⁷³³ Cf. Pl. 13: 7. 9. 11. 13; 14: 15; 15: 3. 4-6. 9. 10; 17: 13.

⁷³⁴ ANNUAL XIV, pp. 14-22, pl. 20. 22-24; XV, pp. 124-137, pl. 26A-29B.

⁷³⁵ See above pp. 195-6.

⁷³⁶ See above p. 194.

ing partly over the wall of the jar on to the rim, is a continuously horizontally burnished red slip, which merges into a creamy brown, similarly burnished slip on the rest of the top surface of the rim, which is further decorated with two horizontal bands of dark reddish brown paint. This type of decorated "hole-mouth" rim is particularly common in the n. half of South Gilead, and may be said to be a characteristic type.

- 5, is part of the neck and collared rim of a late EI I decanter of a fine type with Cypriote affinities; on the upper and lower parts of the collared rim are two highly polished bands of red slip, between which are three horizontal, parallel lines of black paint.

Byzantine pottery.

Many of the Byzantine sherds found were similar particularly to types common at Umm er-Raşâs.⁷³⁷ On pl. 20 and 21 are seen characteristic ring- and teat-bases, loop-handles, plain and ribbed rims, and painted pottery. The painted decorations are usually of reddish-brown paint on light buff, wet-smoothed surfaces. All the wares are hard-baked, some being dark brownish-red in color, on which painted decorations of creamy white paint or wash are sometimes found. Most of the sherds shown on pl. 20 and 21 may be dated to the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. The pattern-cut sherd is probably early Arabic and is to be dated to the 7th century A. D. The band face-combed sherd, pl. 21, may also be dated to the 7th century A. D. Pl. 21, second row, third sherd from left may belong to the 4th century A. D.

Arabic pottery.

The painted and glazed sherds shown on pl. 22 from Kh. el-'Edhmah belong approximately to the 12th century A. D., and are typical of Arabic sherds found frequently during the course of the ASOR survey. The study of Byzantine and Arabic pottery has been badly neglected in Palestine.

- Pl. 22: 1, inner surface, ring-based bowl, brown glaze overlaid with thick bands of yellow glaze.
 2, inner surface, bowl, creamy white paint, polished, overlaid with bands and designs of brown paint which extends over rim; related painted decorations on outer surface.
 3, jug, creamy paint, polished, overlaid with dark brown, block-painted designs.
 4, inner surface, concave disc-based bowl, cracked, creamy white glaze, dark brown painted patterns over it.
 5, (reversed) jar, polished creamy-white paint, dark brown painted bands over it.

⁷³⁷ ANNUAL XIV, p. 39.

- 6, platter, coarse, creamy white painted inner and outer surfaces, overlaid with dark brown painted designs.
- 7, outer surface shallow bowl, wet-smoothed reddish buff surfaces, dark brown painted designs both sides.
- 8, platter, creamy white glaze overlaid with dark brown painted designs on inner surface and rim; outer, wet-smoothed, reddish-buff surface decorated dark brown painted bands.
- 9, jar, coarse, creamy white painted surface, polished, dark brown painted design over it.

CONCLUSIONS.

1. The Bronze Age civilization in Eastern Palestine south of the Wādī Zerqā extends for the most part between the 23rd and 20th centuries B. C., i. e. between EB IV and MB I.
2. There is evidence that the history of some of the Bronze Age sites south of the Wādī Zerqā also precedes EB IV, and excavations would probably reveal that their history begins with EB I.
3. Along the Wādī Zerqā, Bronze Age sites were found whose history extends mainly from EB IV down as far as MB II A, i. e. from about the 23rd to the middle of the 18th century B. C.
4. The gap in the history of sedentary occupation established as existing in Edom and Moab between the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 13th centuries B. C. marks also the history of South Gilead and 'Ammôn, except along the Wādī Zerqā, where apparently permanent settlements were missing only between the middle of the 18th and the beginning of the 13th centuries B. C. Albright's investigations indicate an unbroken history of settlement in North Gilead and Ḥaurān from Early Bronze through Early Iron and later. The history of the Jordan River valley has not been considered.
5. The Early Bronze Age pottery in Eastern Palestine south of the Zerqā shows no substantial differences from contemporary pottery in Western Palestine.
6. The EB IV-MB I period, in particular, in Eastern Palestine south of the Zerqā, was one of a highly developed, agricultural civilization, feudally organized, which evidently because of lack of a united front or united fronts could not withstand organized aggression.
7. The highly developed and well organized Early Iron Age agricultural civilizations in South Gilead, where the kingdom of the Amorites under

Sihôn was established at first, and in 'Ammôn, were in no wise inferior to those of Edom and Moab, nor to those of Western Palestine. The EI history of South Gilead and 'Ammôn parallels in general that of Moab and Edom,—a flourishing period between the 13th and the 8th centuries B. C., and a period of increasing deterioration culminating in final ruin probably during the first part of the 6th century B. C. The Naḥal Yabbôq formed a boundary line between South Gilead and North Gilead, and between South Gilead and 'Ammôn.

8. The next *main* period of sedentary occupation of South Gilead and 'Ammôn is the Roman, although there are numerous traces of preceding Hellenistic civilization.
9. The borders of the kingdom of Moab were as strongly fortified as those of Edom.
10. The orientation of Eastern Palestine during the Early Iron Age seems, because of geographic and economic factors, to have been directed more to Syria and Arabia than to Western Palestine. This seems to be evidenced in part also in the EI pottery of Eastern Palestine, whose beginnings, in general, antedate those of the EI pottery of Western Palestine. It might be said that the beginnings of this particular period in the areas surveyed in Eastern Palestine correspond to what would be the end of Late Bronze in Western Palestine.
11. In Eastern Palestine south of the Wâdī Zerqā there is a general absence of *tulûl*, because of the apparently almost complete absence of permanent settlements in stone villages and cities during MB II and LB.
12. The n. boundary of the s. part of the Nabataean kingdom is to be identified with a w.-e. line through Mâdebā. The n. part of the Nabataean kingdom in s.e. Syria was connected with Nabataean Arabia probably through the Wâdī Sirḥân.

NUMERICAL LIST OF SITES ON MAP.*

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|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. 'Aqabah | 35. Qaşr ed-Deir * |
| 2. Aila | 36. Kh. Umm She'ir * |
| 3. Tell el-Kheleifeh | 37. Kh. el-Frej |
| 4. Mrashrash * | 38. el-Wādât |
| 5. Bîr Tâbah | 39. Qefeife |
| 6. 'Ain Tâbah | 40. Rujm el-Ḥamrâ |
| 7. Jezîret Far'un | 41. Rujm Mughâmes |
| 8. 'Ain Defiyeh * | 42. Khân Qillus |
| 9. Rujm Ḥadîd | 43. Qaşr eş-Şerâreh |
| 10. Roman site | 43a. el-Qûsah el-Ḥamrah |
| 11. Qaşr el-Kitharâ | 44. Kh. en-Nôkhah * |
| 12. Roman tower | 45. Kh. Abû Benneh * |
| 13. Kh. el-Khâldeh | 46. Kh. Sab'ah * |
| 14. el-Meqdes * | 47. Kh. Adanîn * |
| 14a. Kh. 'Arjâ | 48. Rujm Kerakeh * |
| 15. 'Ain Nejel * | 49. Kh. edh-Dherîḥ |
| 16. Rujm Manâşir | 50. Rujm Jâ'ez * |
| 17. Shôbek * | 51. Rujm Abû el-'Azâm |
| 18. Umm el-'Amad * | 52. Kh. Bâkher * |
| 19. Feinân * | 53. er-Ruweilah * |
| 20. Kh. Ḥamr Ifdân * | 54. Kh. et-Tannûr |
| 21. Kh. en-Naḥâs * | 55. el-Qreiqreh |
| 22. Kh. el-Jârîyeh * | 56. Kh. 'Ayûn Ghuzlân |
| 23. Kh. el-Gheweibeh * | 57. Kh. Baḥlûl |
| 24. Sheikh er-Rîsh | 58. Kh. Ḥedeis |
| 25. Kh. Duwâr | 59. 'Ain el-Qaşrein |
| 26. Rujm Tawîl Ifjeij * | 60. Kh. el-Burbeitah |
| 27. Rujm el-Jeḥeirah | 61. Kh. el-Ḥammân |
| 28. Rujm Baḥash | 62. Kh. Şabrah |
| 29. Rujm Ḥâlâ el-Qarâneh * | 63. 'Ain er-Rḥâb |
| 30. Imtât * | 64. Dhela' Qereif |
| 31. Rujm Râs el-Ḥâlâ * | 65. Kh. el-'Enâyeh |
| 32. eth-Thuwâneh | 66. Qaşr Shôkhar |
| 33. Ramses | 67. eş-Seleileh |
| 34. Sela' | 68. Rujm Ḥajlân |

* For sites with asterisk cf. Index, ANNUAL XV.

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|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 69. Maḥaiy | 107. el-Beqeî' |
| 70. Rujm Shôkhar | 108. Kh. el-Beidâ |
| 71. el-Medeiyineh * | 109. Feqeiques |
| 72. el-'Aineh * | 110. el-'Irâq |
| 73. Qefeiquef | 111. Rujm Heleileh |
| 74. Kh. esh-Sheqeirah | 112. Zabdah |
| 75. Kh. el-Quşûbah | 113. Kh. Umm el-Qeşeir |
| 76. Dhât Râs | 114. Kefeirâz |
| 77. Rujm Eshqâh | 115. el-Meidân |
| 78. Kh. el-'Akûzeh | 116. Kathrabbâ |
| 79. ed-Deweikhleh | 117. Kh. el-Meiseh |
| 80. 'Ain Umm Şidreh | 118. Kh. el-Jeljûl |
| 81. Juweir | 119. Kh. el-Jûbah |
| 82. Kh. el-Kuweî' | 120. Meḥnâ |
| 83. Kh. 'Aslejah | 121. Kh. el-Lebûn |
| 84. Kh. 'Usher | 122. Kh. el-Muşâṭeb |
| 85. Mejrâ | 123. Kh. en-Neqqâz |
| 86. Kh. en-Njâjîr | 124. Kh. eṭ-Telîsah |
| 87. Kh. Umm eṣ-Şedeirah | 125. Qaryatein |
| 88. Kh. eṣ-Şerâreh | 126. Rujm el-Jilîmeh |
| 89. el-Mejâdel | 127. Kh. Umm Ḥamâd |
| 90. Kh. Dhubâb | 128. Kh. el-'Okber |
| 91. Kh. es-Sedeir | 129. el-'Izâr |
| 92. Kh. Umm Rummâneh * | 130. Ma'amûdiyyeh |
| 93. Kh. Khâneq en-Naşârâ | 131. 'Ain Şarâh |
| 94. Kh. Medînet er-Râs | 132. Meḍeibî' * |
| 95. Mudawwerah | 133. eṣ-Şîreh |
| 96. Rujm Heleileh | 134. Rujm Khushm eṣ-Şîreh |
| 97. Rujm Umm Şuwânâ | 135. el-Mâhri |
| 98. Rujm 'Alendâ | 136. Qaşr Nâşer |
| 99. Kh. 'Abdeh | 137. Rujm Nâşer |
| 100. Rujm Basaliyeh | 138. Meqta' el-Jabû' |
| 101. Jôzâ | 139. Qeşeir Bîr Zeit, I |
| 102. Rujm el-Beqr | 140. Qeşeir Bîr Zeit, II |
| 103. Rujm Umm el-'Atât | 141. el-Bahai |
| 104. Mazâr | 142. Qeşeir 'Amrah |
| 105. Rujm Mes'îd | 143. Ekhwein el-Khâdem * |
| 106. ed-Debâkeh | 144. Qaşr Abû Rukbeh * |

* For sites with asterisk cf. Index, ANNUAL XV.

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| 145. Kh. Abū Rukbeh | 183. el-Hûmeh |
| 146. Qeṣeir Yâbes | 184. el-Hûmah |
| 147. Qaṣr Rabbah | 185. Kh. Deleilât el-Gharbiyeh |
| 148. Qaṣr Abū el-Kharaq | 186. Kh. Dallûl |
| 149. Qaṣr Besheir | 187. Kh. el-Mereijmet esh-Sherqîyeh |
| 150. Qaṣr el-Âl | 188. Kh. Deleilât esh-Sherqîyeh * |
| 151. Kh. el-ʿAqrabah | 189. Kh. Setîḥah |
| 152. Dhîbân | 190. Kh. Kherûfeh |
| 153. es-Sekrân | 191. Kh. Sûfeh |
| 154. Kh. Shejeret es-Seḥîleh | 192. el-Herbej |
| 155. edh-Dheheibeh | 193. Kufeir Abū Bedd |
| 156. Rujm Umm ed-Dakākîn | 194. Mushaqqar |
| 157. Rejeim Selîm | 195. Tell Mustâḥ |
| 158. Meqʿed ibn Neṣrallah | 196. Rujm Ṭaiḥîn |
| 159. Umm Shejeirât el-Gharbiyeh | 197. Qaṣr Wasîyeh |
| 160. Qeraiyet Falḥah | 198. eṣ-Ṣweiwînâ |
| 161. Qahqeh | 199. Qaṣr ʿAbdûn |
| 162. ʿAleiyân | 200. Kh. ʿAbdûn |
| 163. Umm Shejeirât esh-Sherqîyeh | 201. Kh. ʿAbdûn Tsherkas |
| 164. el-Qebeibeh | 202. Rujûm Malfûf |
| 165. ed-Dohfereh | 203. ʿAbdûn |
| 166. Rujm Abū Sighân | 204. Ṣweifiyeh Sherqîyeh |
| 167. Rujm Mleḥleb | 205. Ṣweifiyeh Gharbiyeh |
| 168. Kh. Iskander | 206. Qaṣr Rônaq |
| 169. Kh. Taḥûnet el-Wâlâ | 207. Qaṣr Ṣâr |
| 170. Kh. Abū Khirqeh | 208. Kh. Dheinâ |
| 171. el-Qereiyât | 209. Rujm ʿObeid |
| 172. el-Ḥashshash | 210. Kh. Hanôtîyeh |
| 173. ʿAmûriyâ | 211. Rujm Hanôtîyeh |
| 174. el-Kôm | 212. Kh. Kursî Sherqîyeh |
| 175. Rujûm el-ʿAliyâ | 213. Kh. Kursî |
| 176. er-Remeil | 214. Kh. Shmeisânî |
| 177. Kh. el-Medeiyineh * | 215. Kh. Umm edh-Dhebâʿ |
| 178. el-Mekâwer | 216. Kh. Umm es-Semmâk |
| 179. el-Meshneqeh | 217. el-Qeṣeir |
| 180. Kh. ʿAṭârûs | 218. Dabûq |
| 181. Rujm ʿAṭârûs | 219. Kh. el-Baṭnah |
| 182. Kh. Umm Laḥwad | 220. Kh. el-Khandaq |

* For sites with asterisk cf. Index, ANNUAL XV.

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|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 221. Kh. el-Jazzîr | 259. Kh. Abū Ḥewei |
| 222. Kh. el-'Enab | 260. er-Reṣeifeh |
| 223. et-Tell | 261. Kh. er-Reṣeifeh |
| 223a. Kh. Umm Yanbûteh | 262. Rujm el-Meshâtel |
| 224. Kh. el-'Azidîyeh | 263. Rujm el-Qerqesh |
| 225. Kh. Abū Tîneh | 264. Rujm Darîk |
| 226. Kh. Erḥah | 265. Kh. Umm Beidā |
| 227. Şafût | 266. Qereiyat Ḥadîd |
| 228. Tell Safût | 267. Kh. Abū Marḥaf |
| 229. Kh. Umm 'Oseij | 268. Kh. Bedrân |
| 230. Qaşr Kheldā Janûbîyeh | 269. Kh. Morbat Bedrân |
| 231. Qaşr Kheldā | 270. 'Aşâret Merj eş-Şâna' |
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* Page references in parentheses.

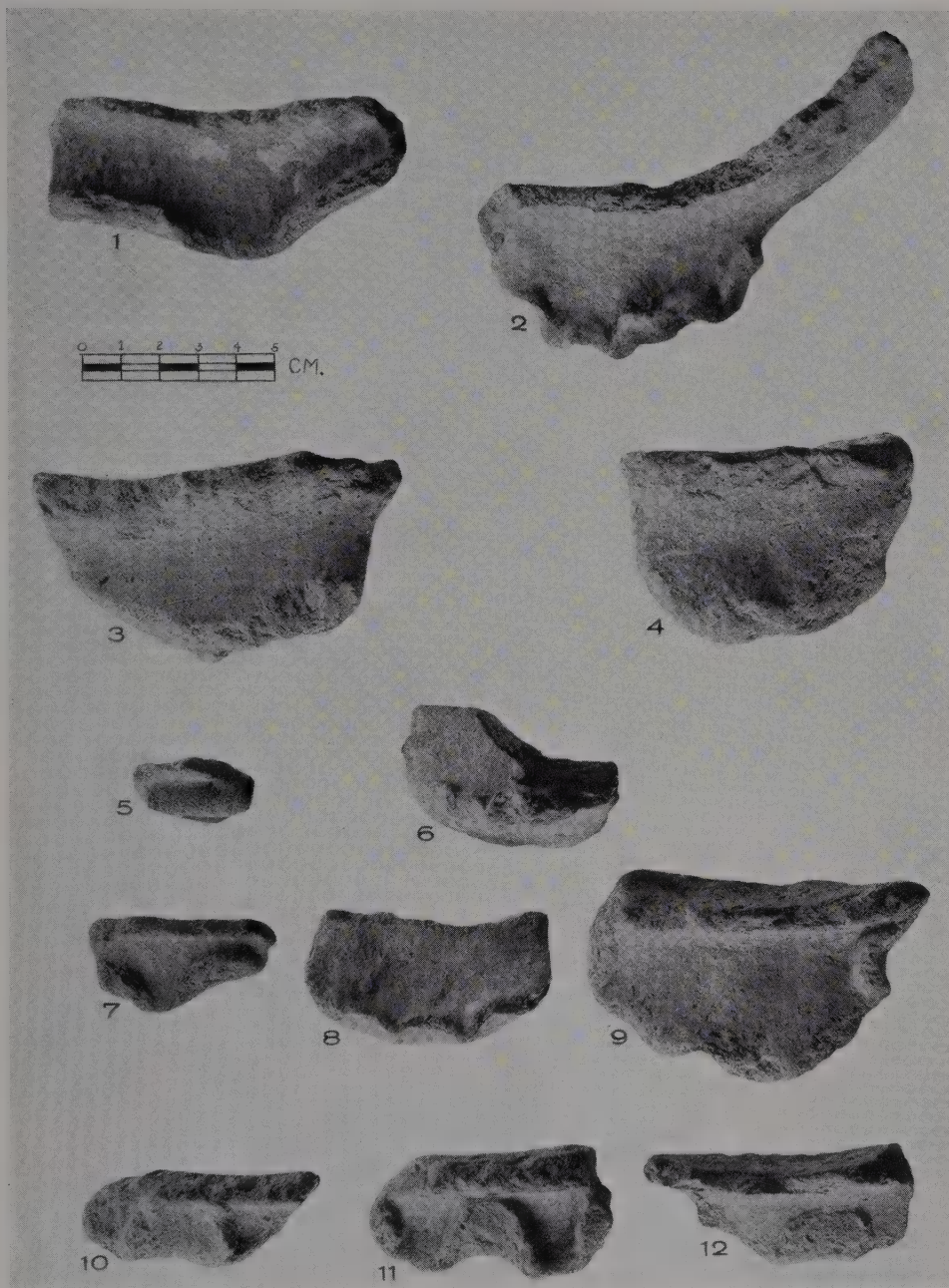


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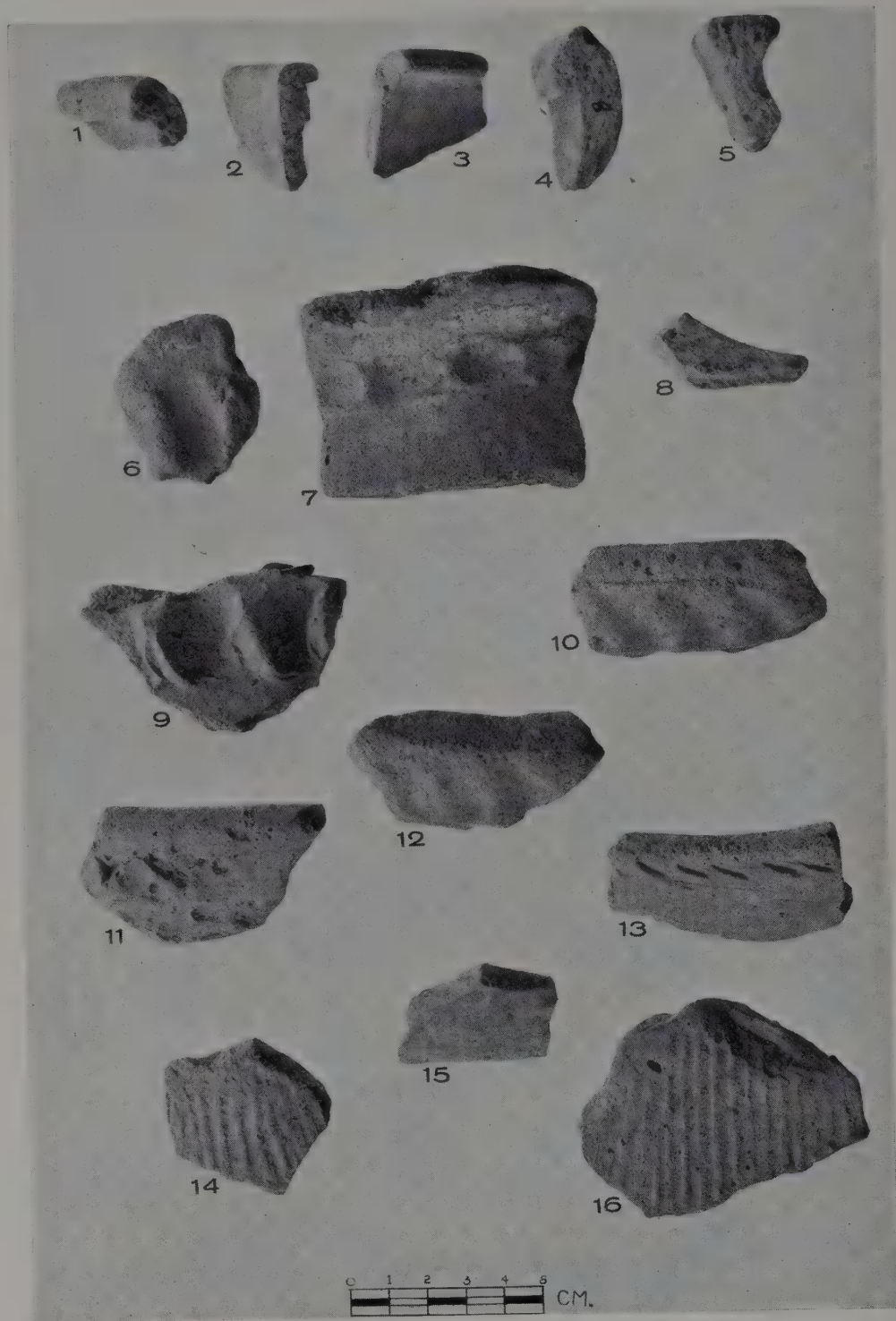


PLATE 2



PLATE 3

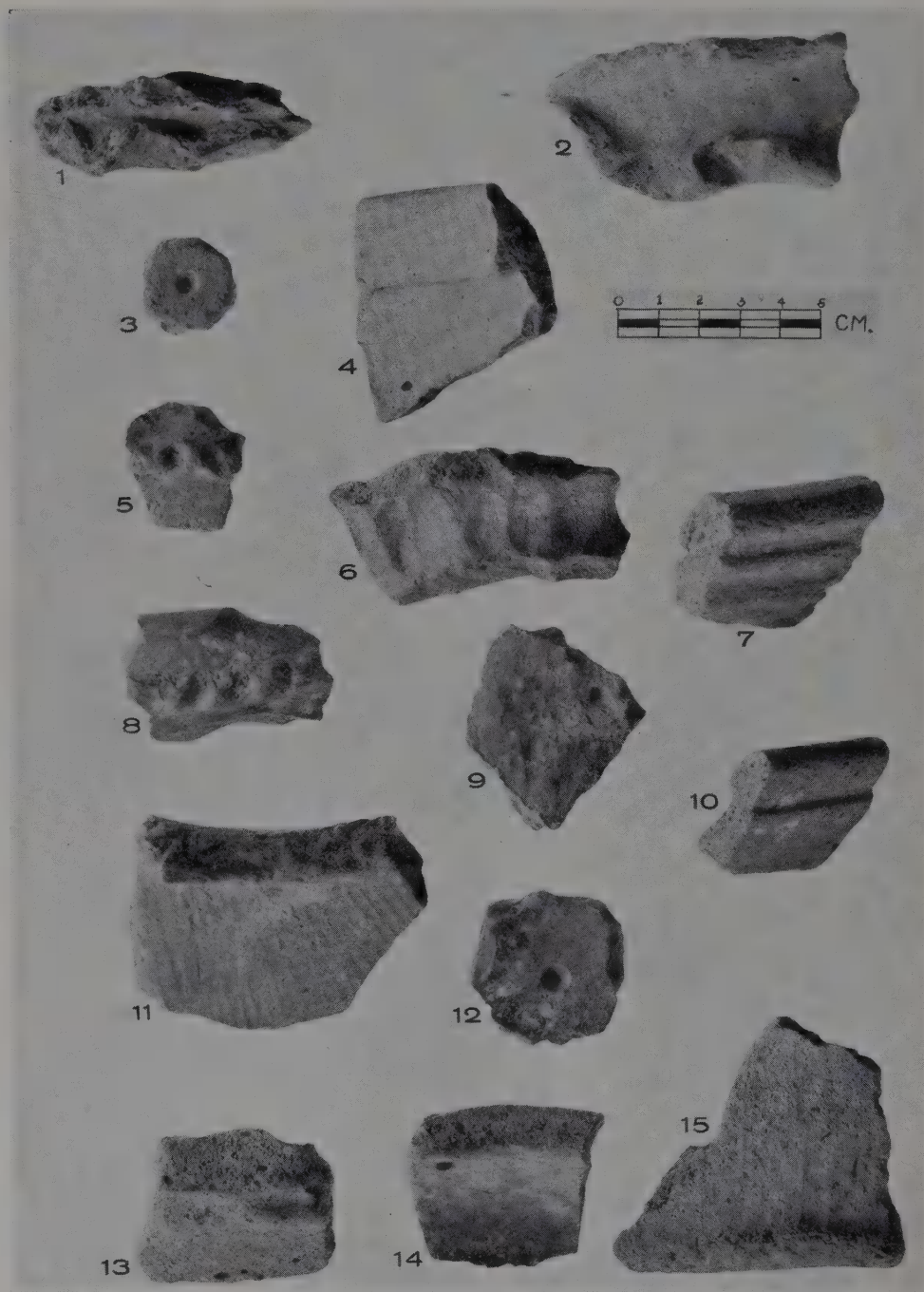


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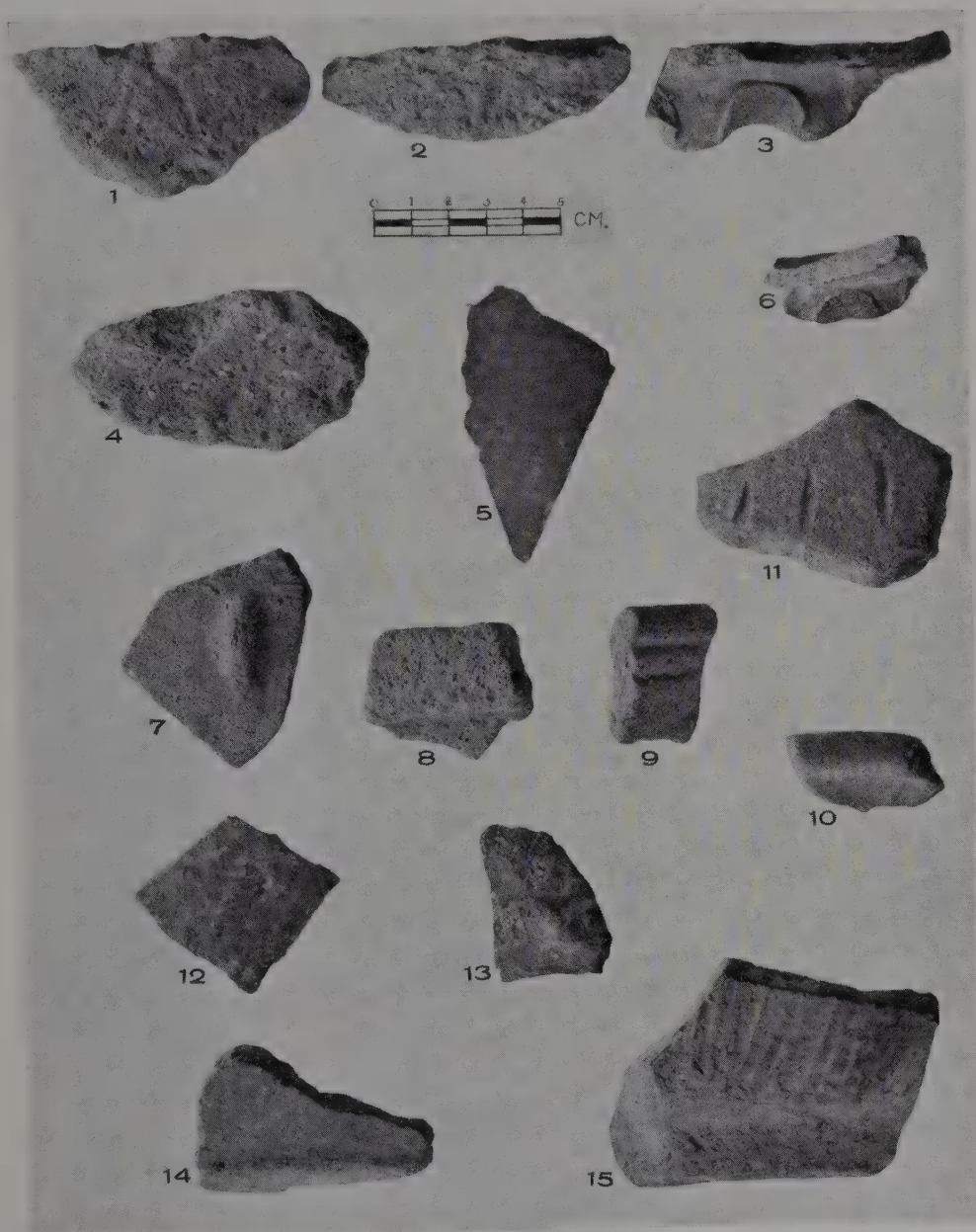


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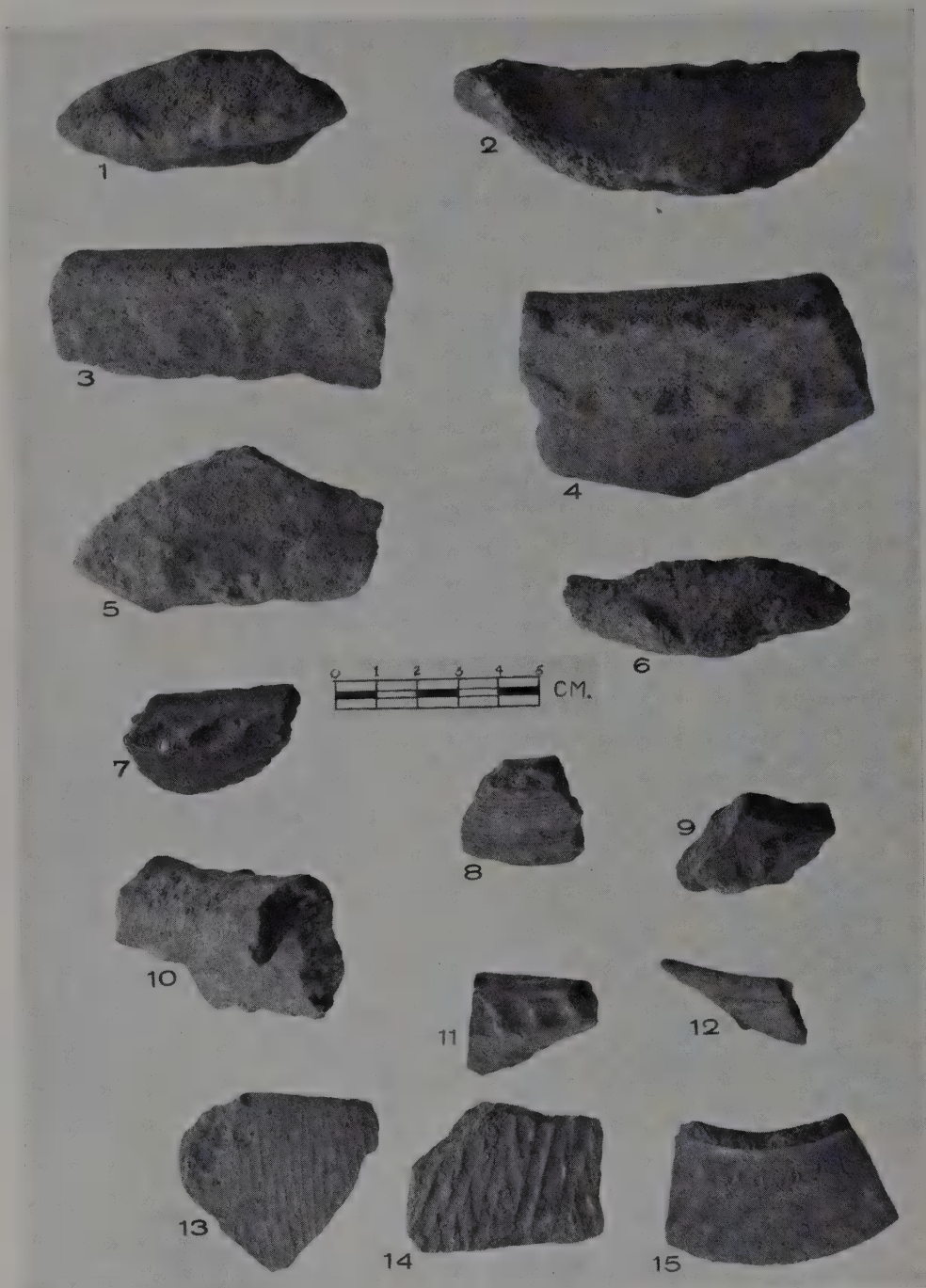


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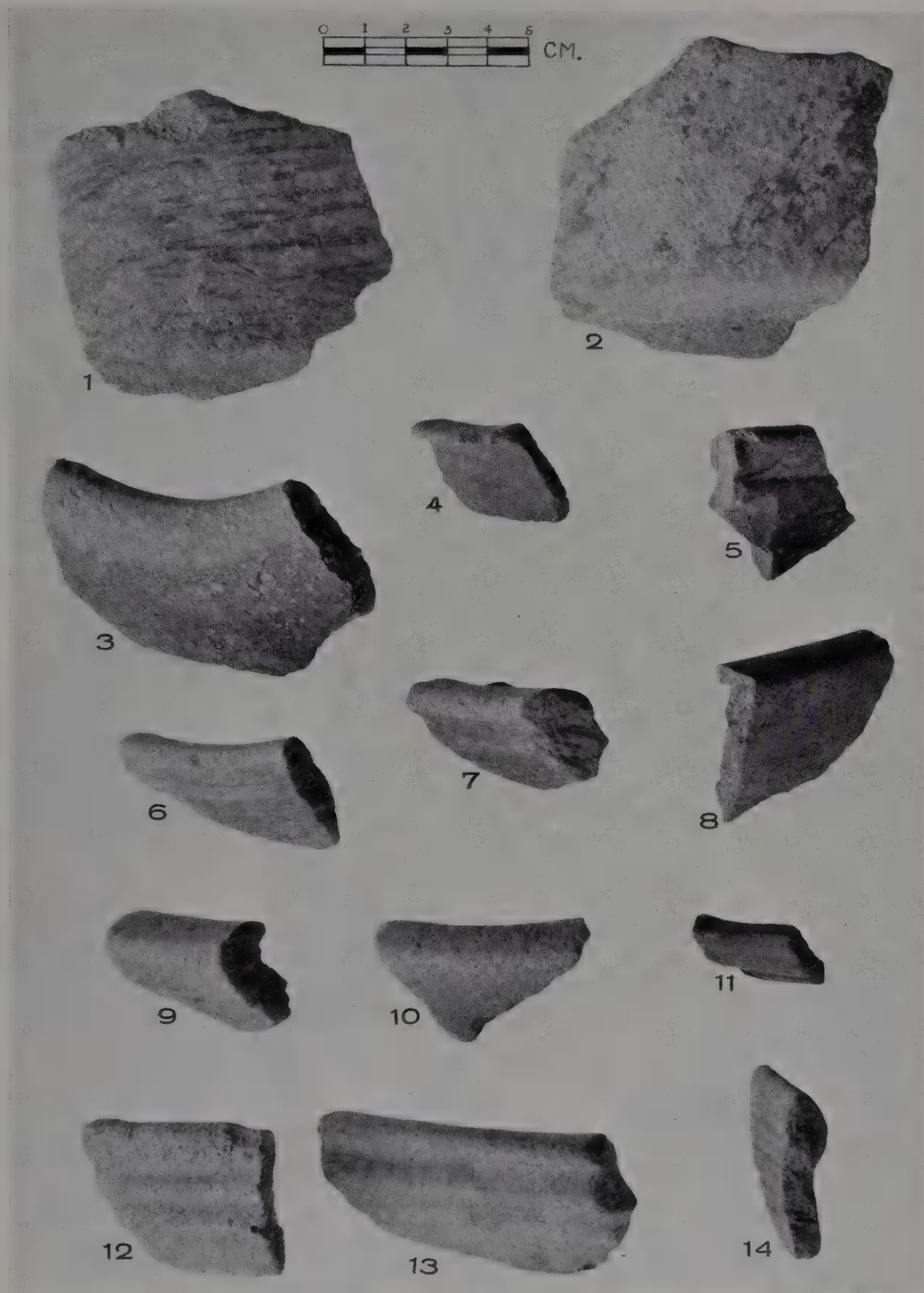


PLATE 7

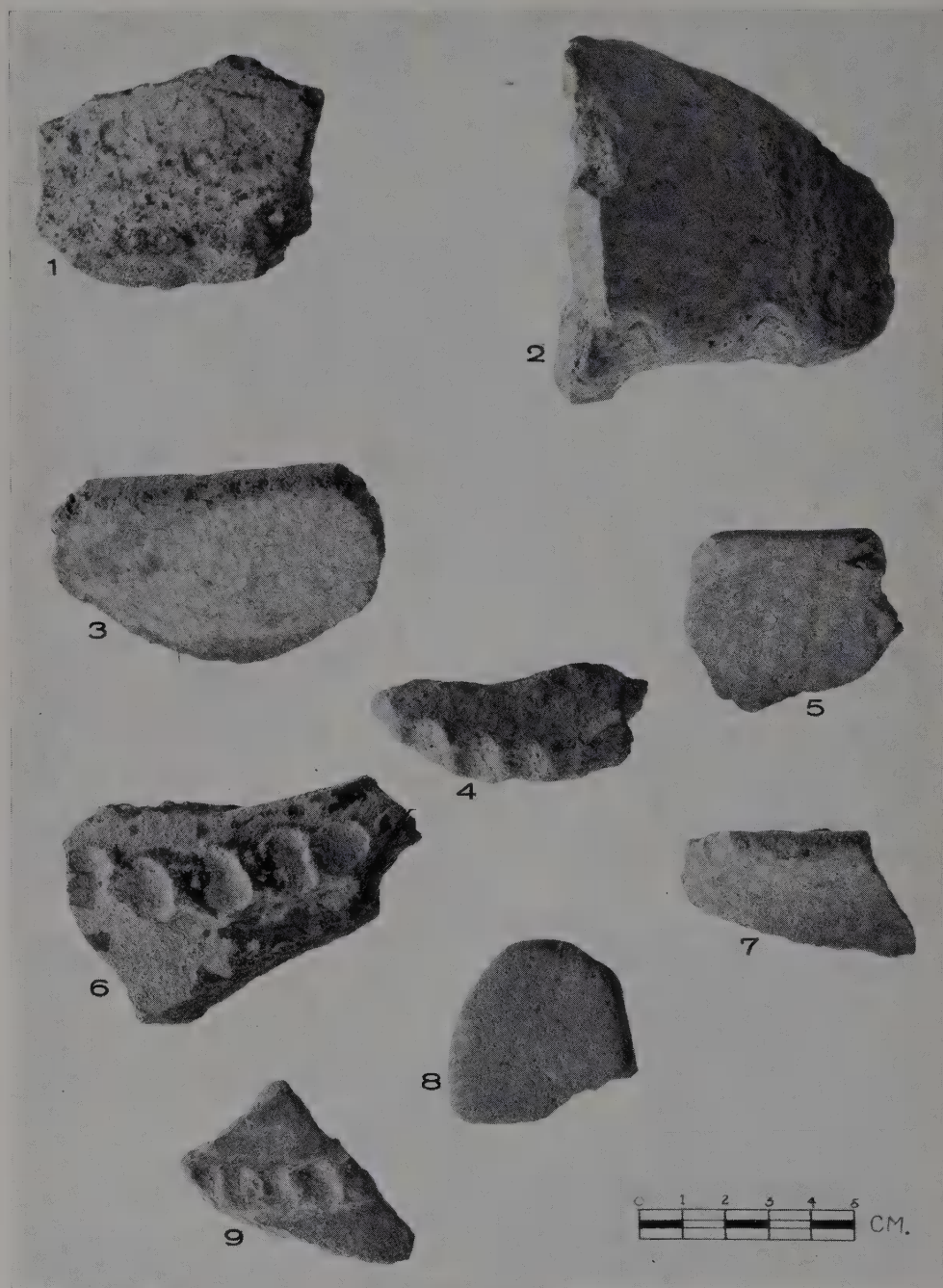


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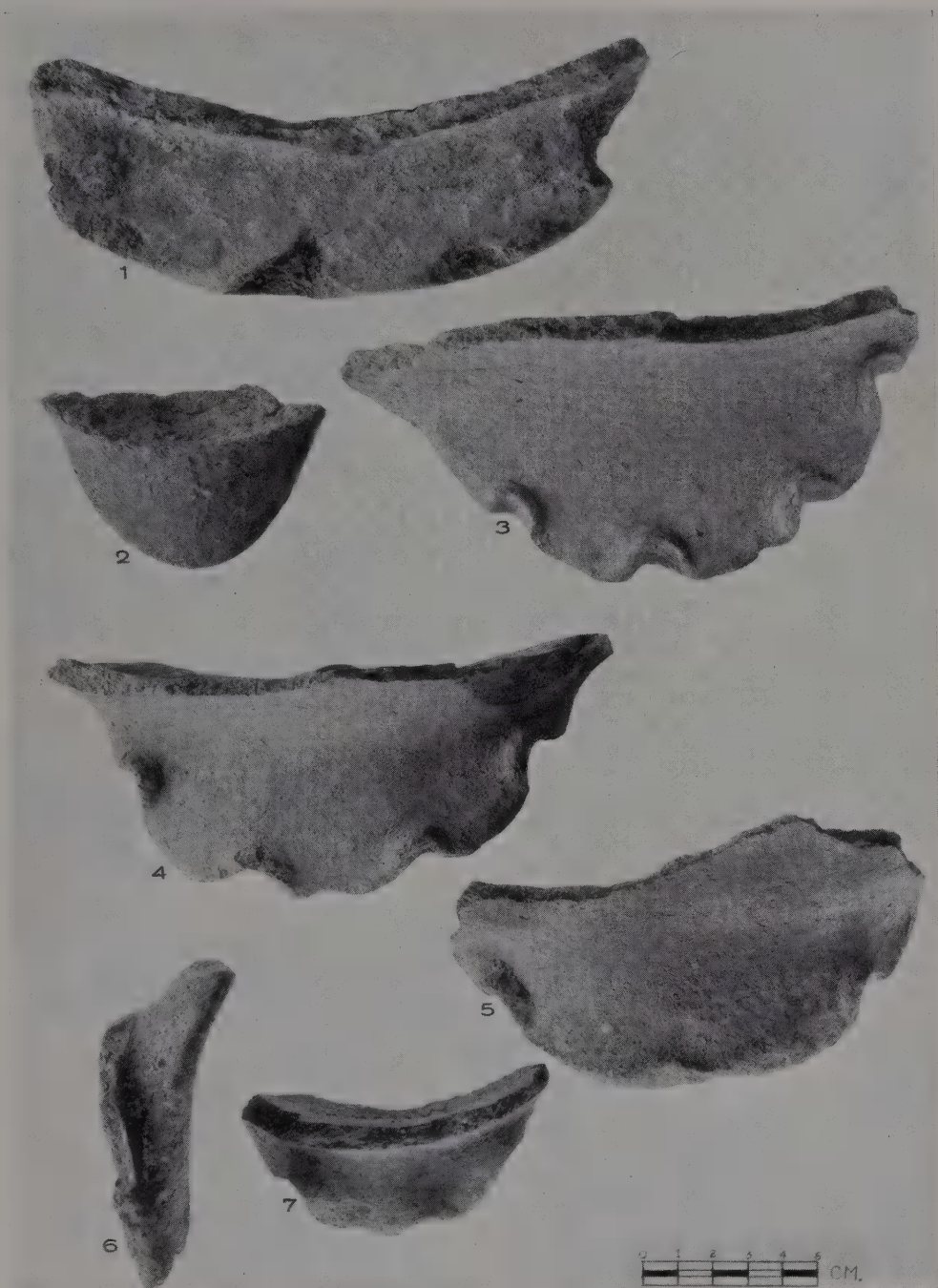


PLATE 9

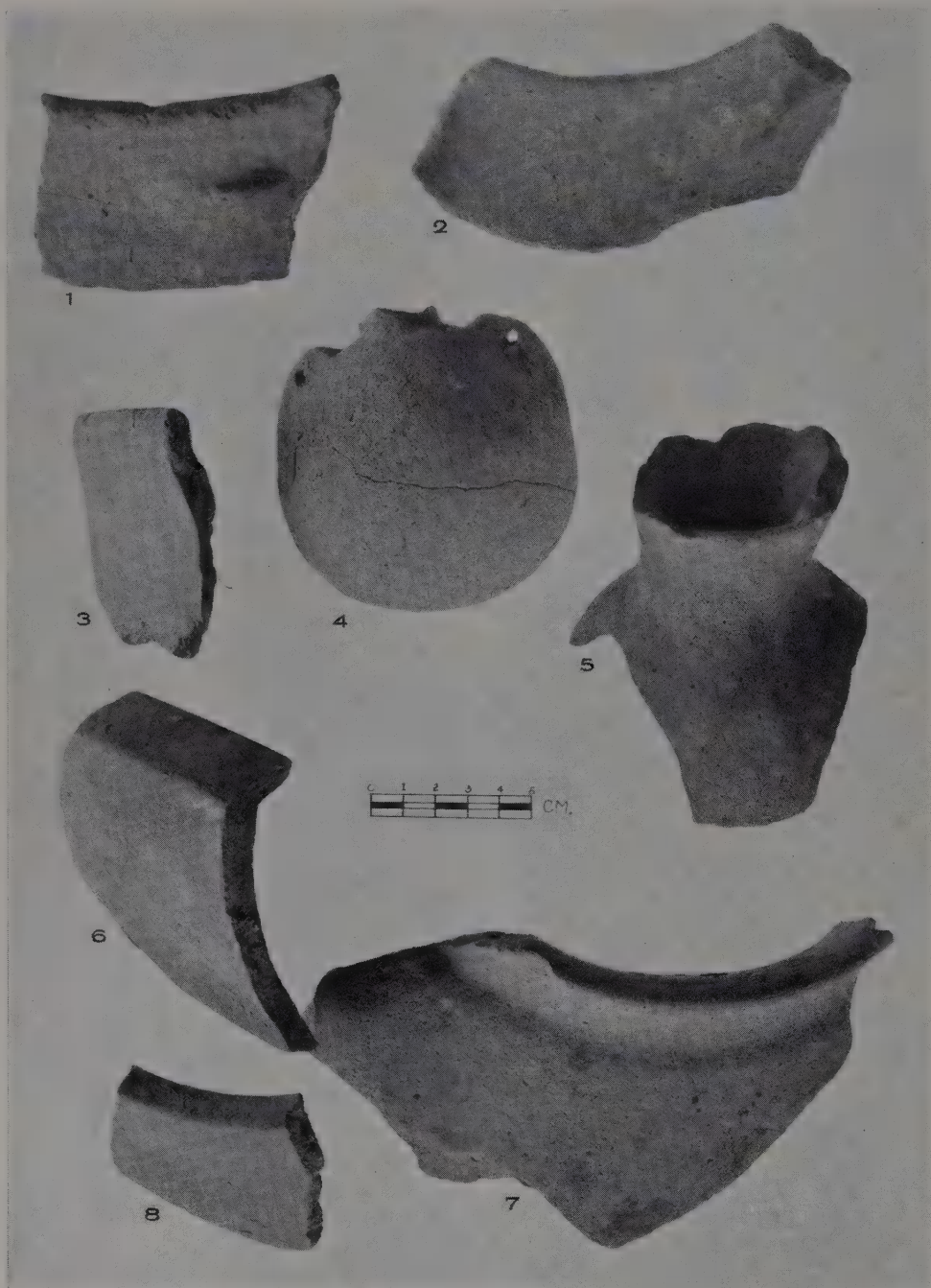


PLATE 10

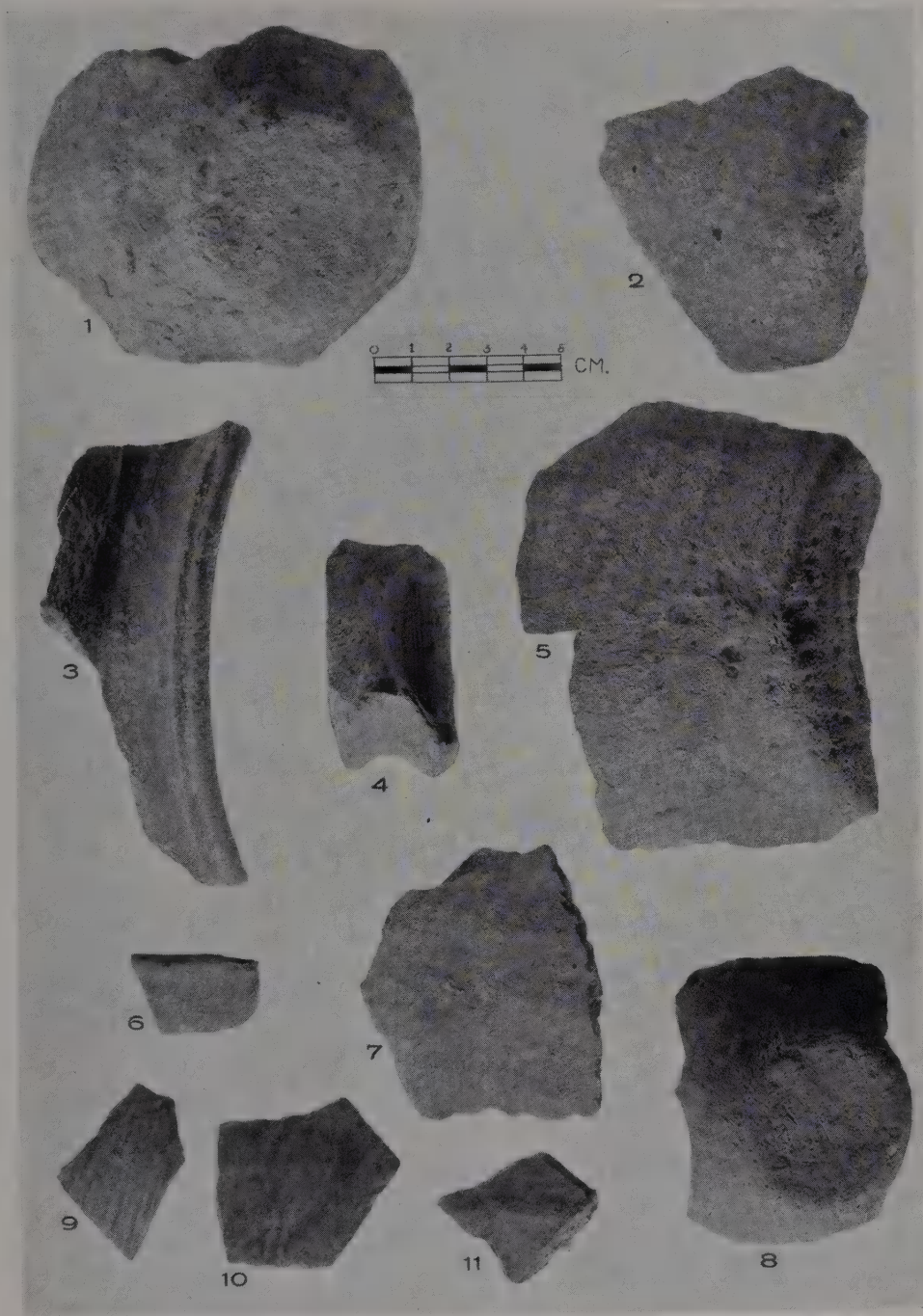


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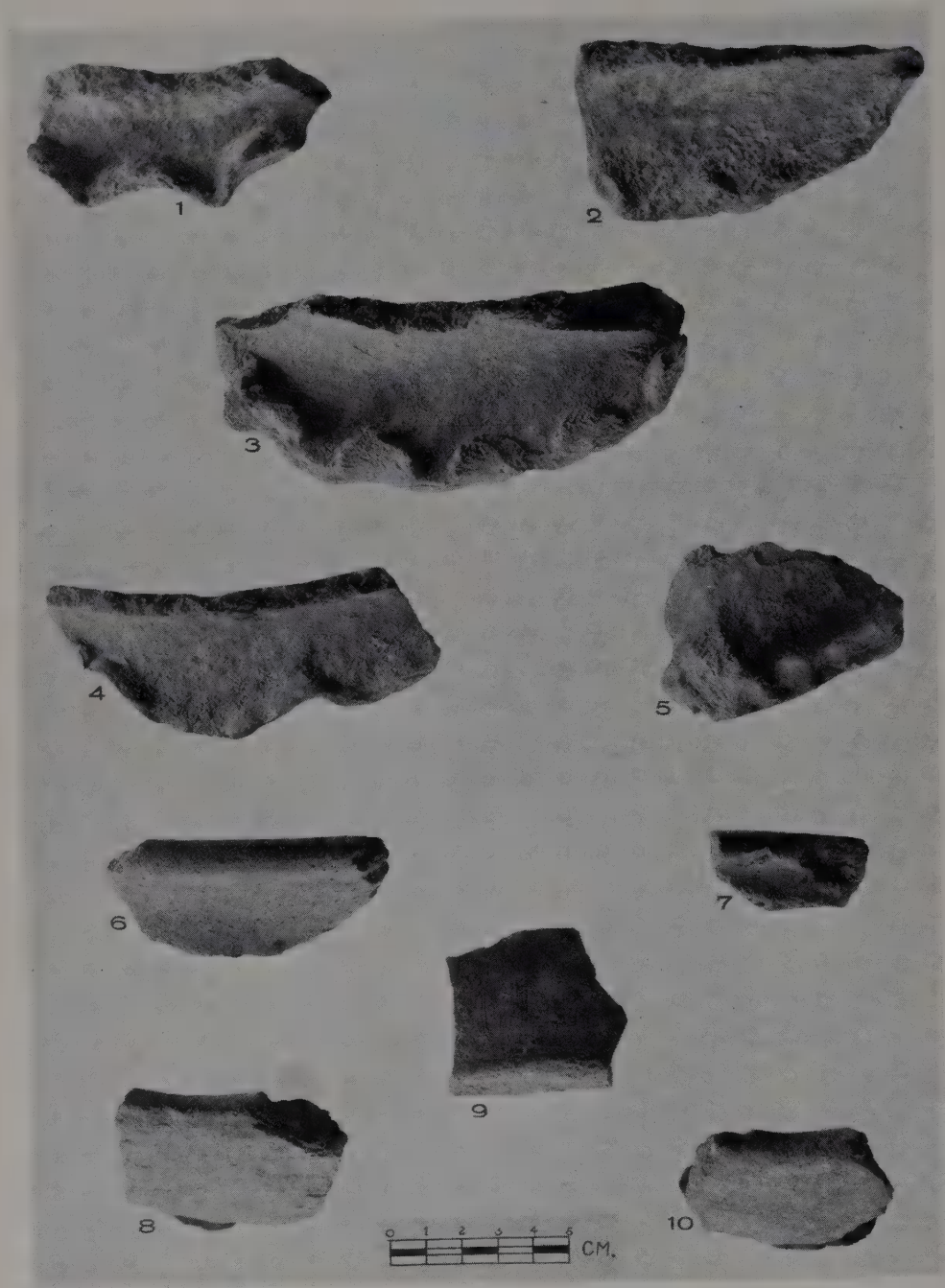


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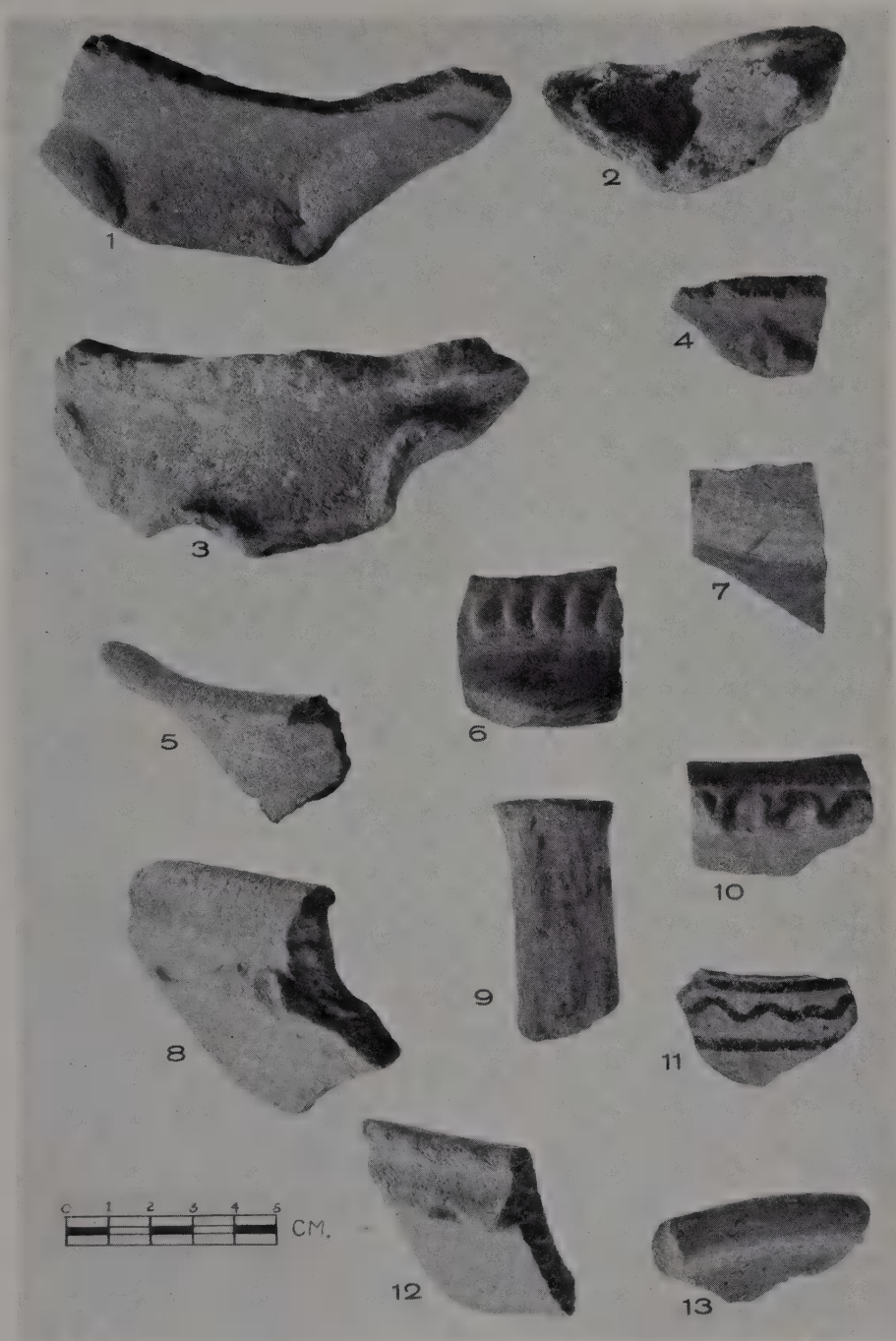


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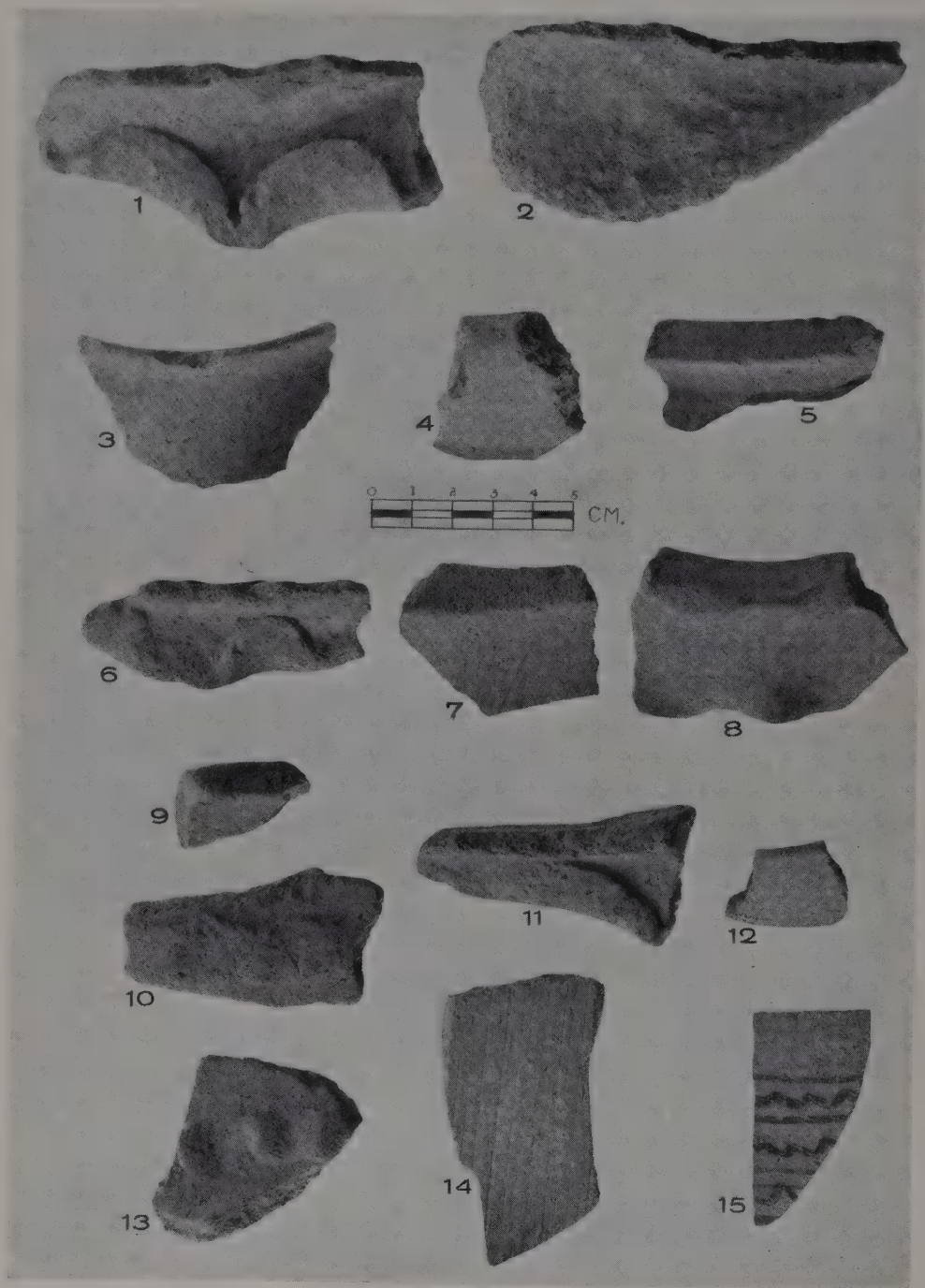


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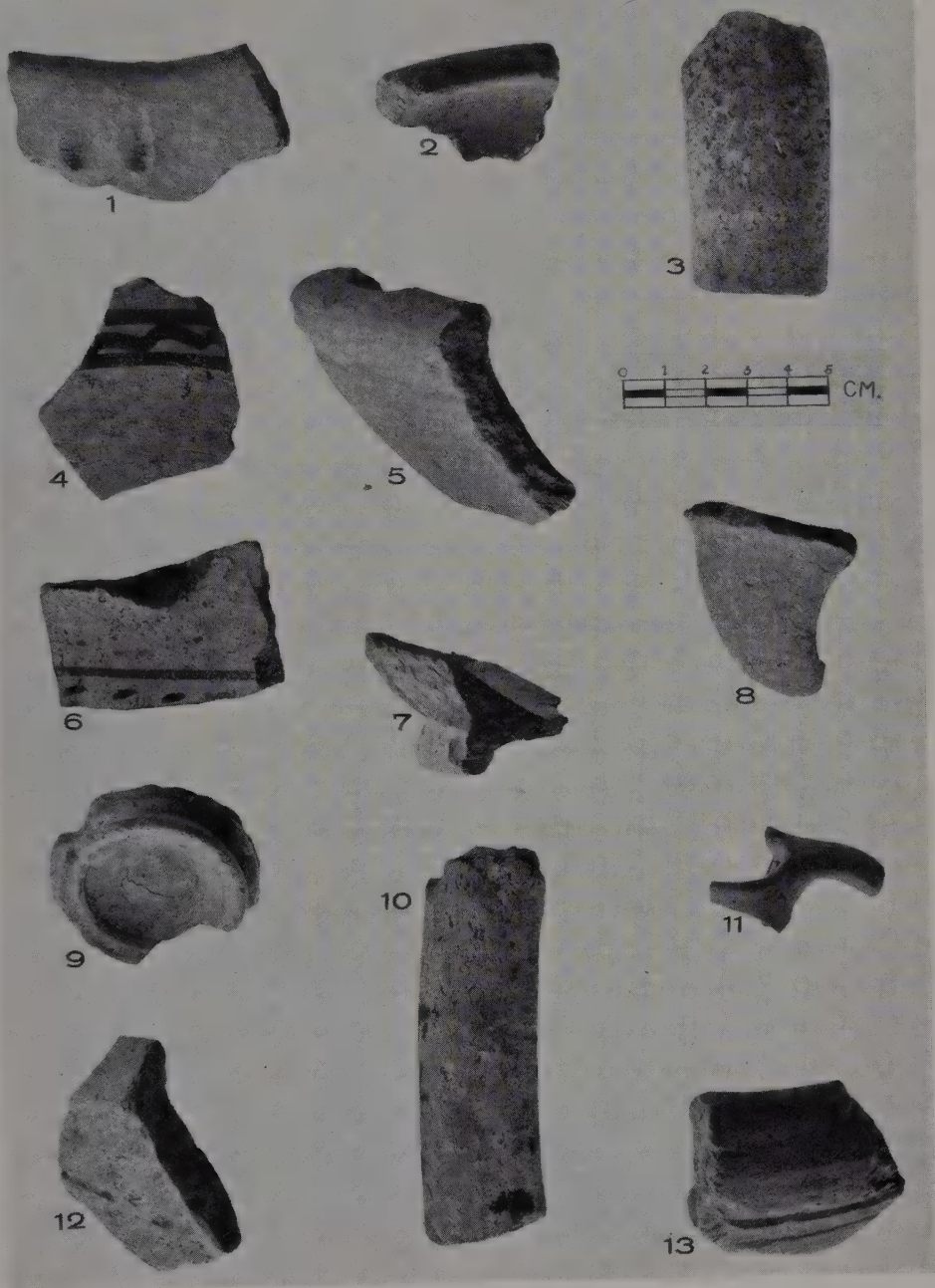


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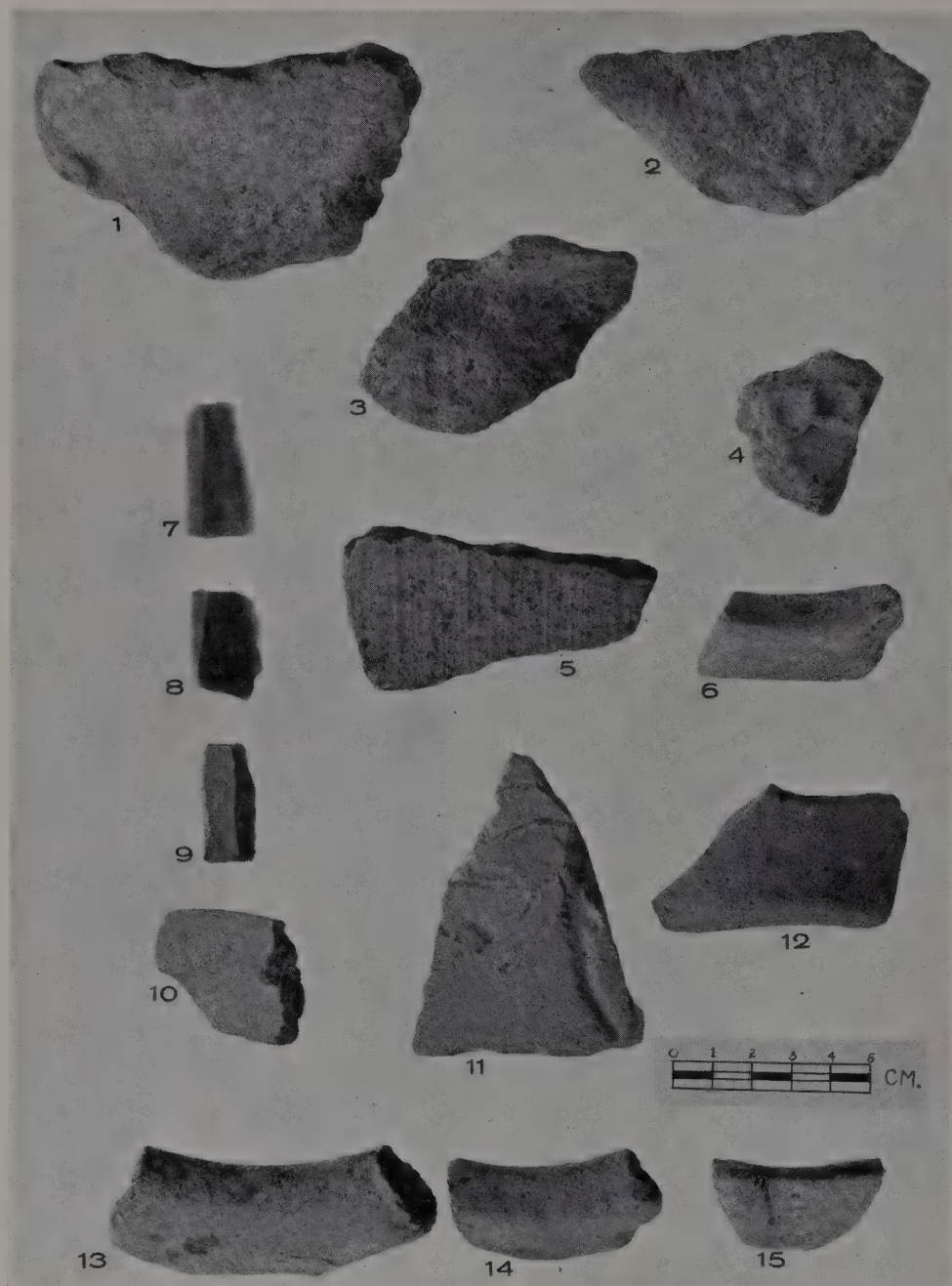


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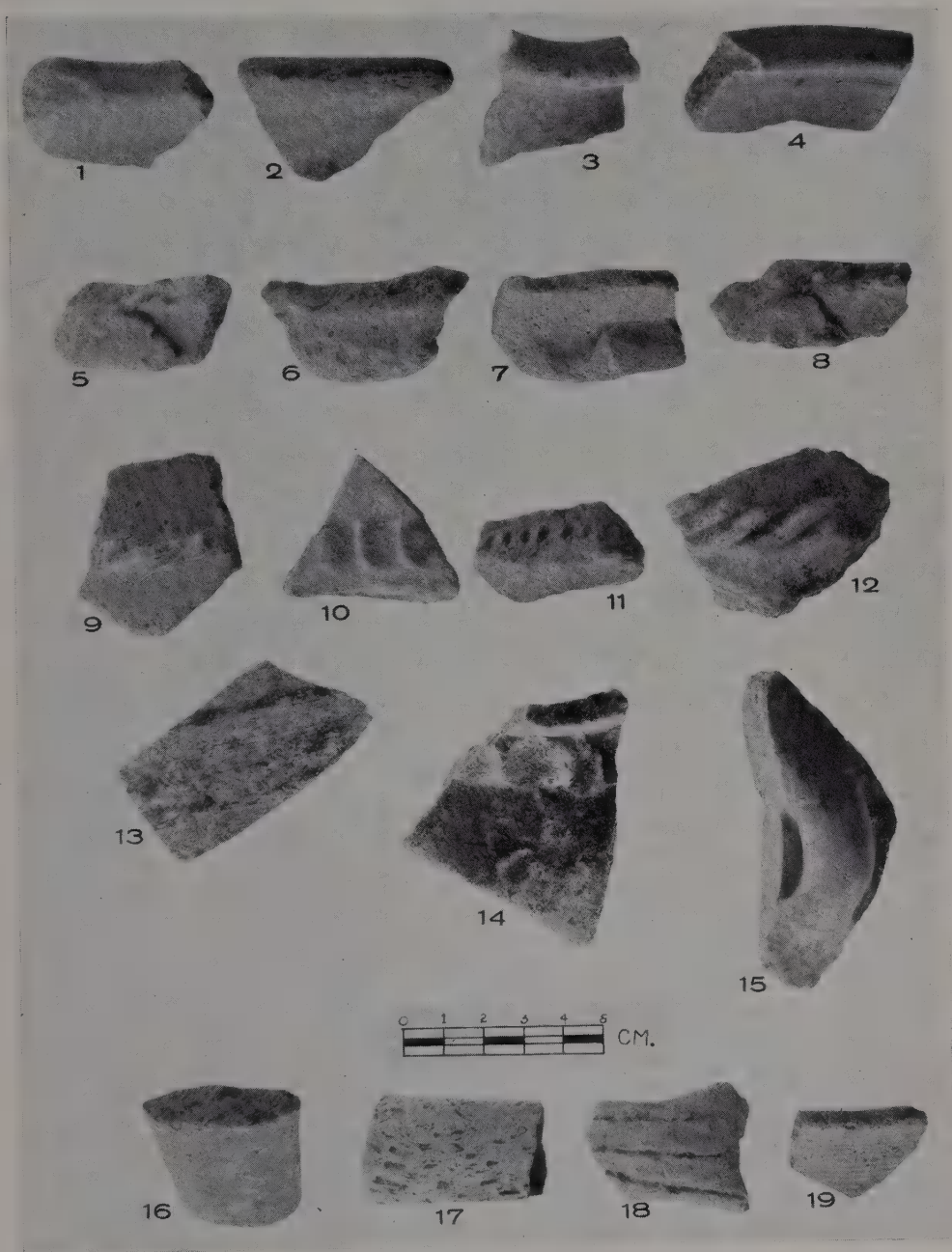


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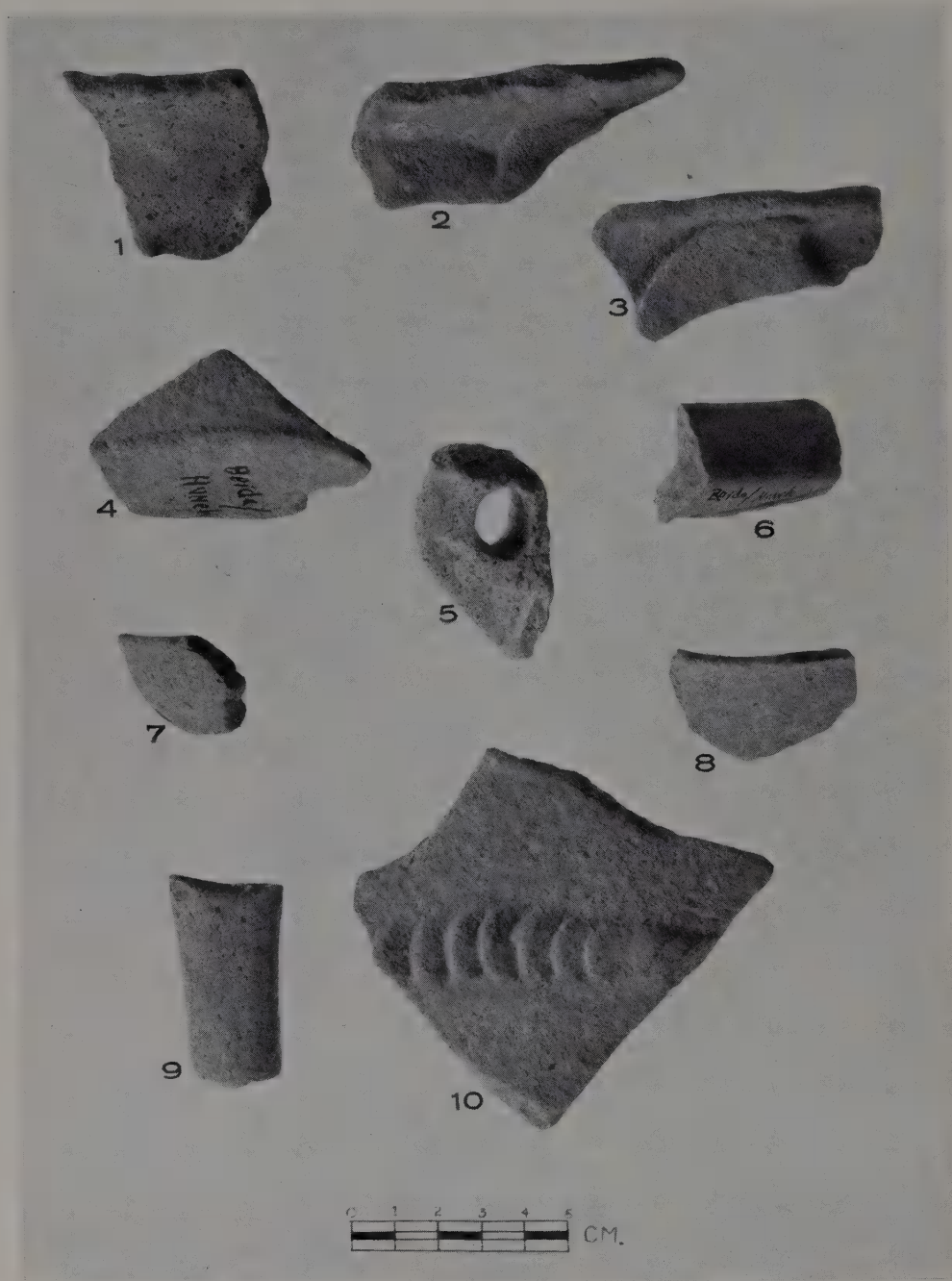
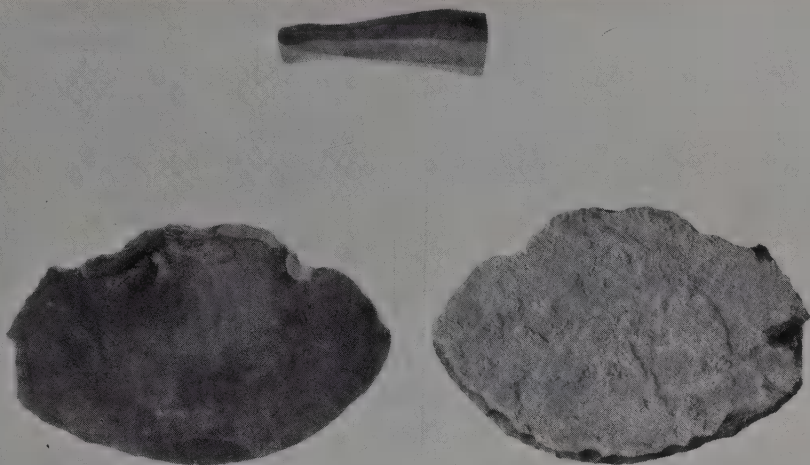
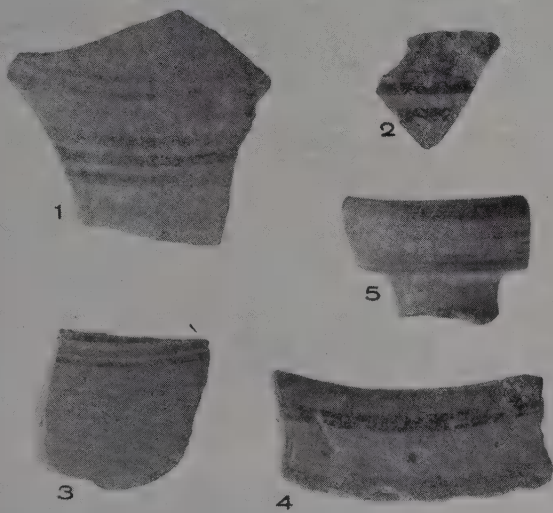


PLATE 18



A



B



PLATE 20



PLATE 21

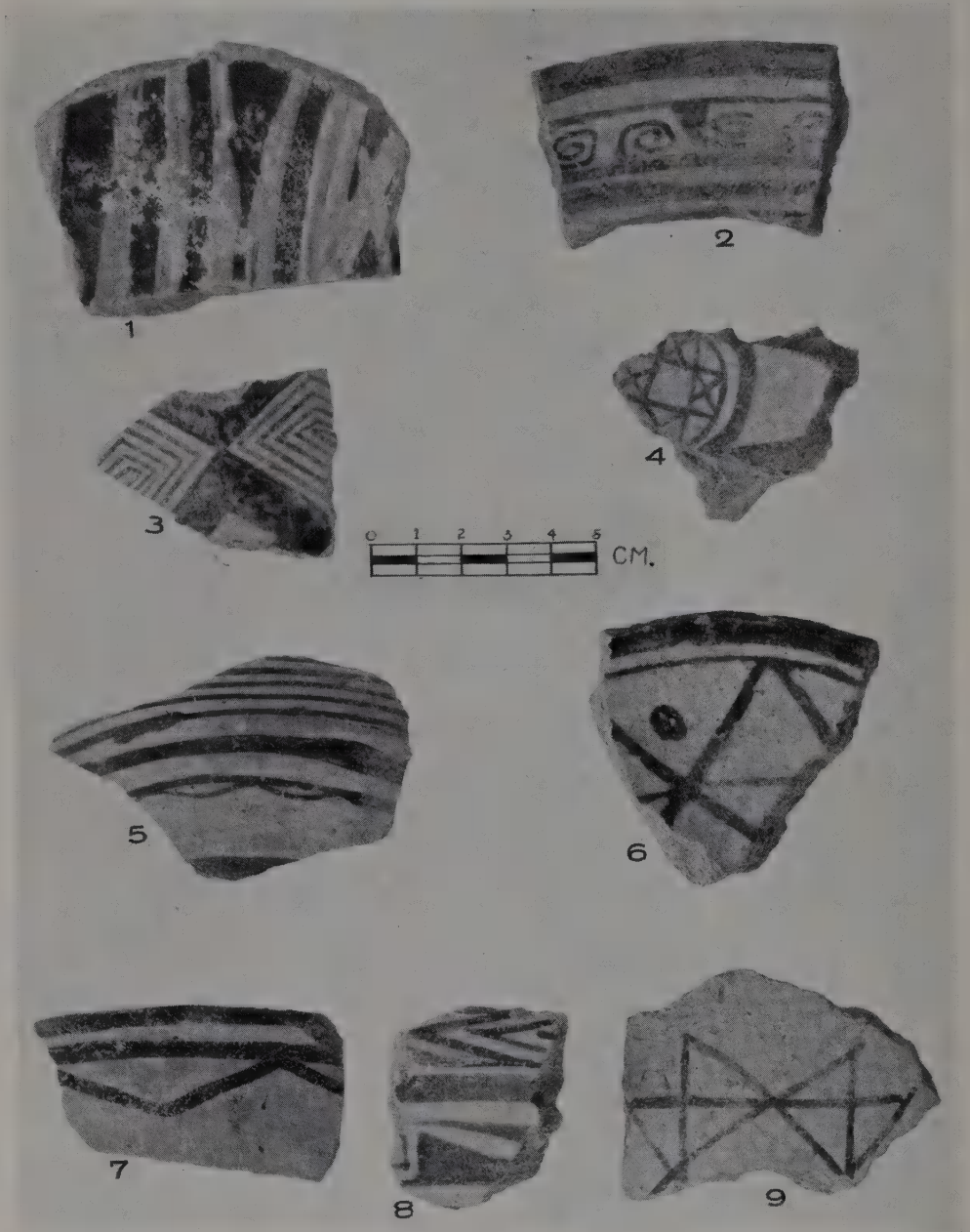


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